the weekly standard

DECEMBER 3, 2001

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ENGLISH ONLY AT THE CIA?
CLAIRE BERLINSKI

# THE PRESS IN TIME OF WAR

BY FRED BARNES

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the weekly Standard

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# The All-News-Is-Bad-News Left

THE SCRAPBOOK may have given the impression in recent weeks with our Surprisingly Good Guys List™ that the Left was defecting from its traditional anti-Americanism almost as quickly as brighter-than-average Pashtun soldiers are deserting the Taliban. Not so; the world hasn't changed that radically.

Just about every working day, for instance, we get an e-mail from a group called the Institute for Public Accuracy, aptly described by Christopher Hitchens as part of the soft-on-fascism Left. The institute theorizes that the Left is out of favor in America not because its ideas are noxious, but because they haven't been professionally packaged.

Hence the e-mails, which offer to journalists and radio and TV bookers a theme of the day along with an assortment of Noam Chomsky epigones ready to propound it in interviews. Picture Stalin with a top-notch Washington PR firm sending out faxes during the Moscow trials ("The Trotskyite saboteurs are like rabid dogs," said Chief Prosecutor Vyshinsky earlier today; he will be available after 4 P.M. Moscow time to discuss with reporters his 16-0 record in obtaining convictions; call his assistant Ludmilla for video handouts) and you get the flavor.

For an even better flavor of the IPA message, here are some of their press release headlines, starting in early October, when the first bombs falling on the Taliban gave these folks a case of heartburn from which they haven't yet recovered. The parenthetical remarks are ours:

FIRST CASUALTIES OF WAR (refers to Afghan refugees, not World Trade Center tenants).

AS BOMBING PROCEEDS: NOW WHAT? (Answers: mass starvation in Afghanistan; American breach of international law.)

CIVIL LIBERTIES AT HOME: "ENDURING FREEDOM"? (The question answers itself: The Bush administration is the enemy of freedom.)

FIRST AMENDMENT IN JEOPARDY? (*Ja wohl!* Why not dispense with the question marks, already?)

BOMBING HALT NOW OR MASS STARVATION BY THANKSGIVING? (There's that pesky question mark again. Mass starvation, obviously.)

WTO AND WAR: 'INVISIBLE HAND AND INVISIBLE FIST'? (Perhaps you weren't aware that the "invisible fist" is the U.S. military and the war in Afghanistan is a capitalist plot.)

AFGHAN WOMEN WARN AGAINST THE NORTHERN ALLIANCE (Lasting peace will come to Afghanistan only if all parties but the Communists are excluded from the post-Taliban negotiations.)

INTERVIEWS AVAILABLE: REAL PEACE OR PAX AMERICANA? (One guess. Someone at IPA needs to repeat Left Wing Propaganda 101. The words Pax Americana should always be surrounded by sneer quotes.)

Perhaps rumors of a new post-9/11 politics have been greatly exaggerated. ♦

## Special Forces on Horses

*U.S. Special Forces troops (left) ride horseback as they work with members of the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan during Operation Enduring Freedom, Nov. 12, 2001. DoD photo.*

## Great Rumsfeld Moment

From a meeting with the editorial board of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, November 16, 2001. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld had just been asked if the bin Laden organization could mount a successful guerrilla campaign.

RUMSFELD: The amount of real estate they've got to play around in now has dropped substantially in the last weeks. That's not to say a person can't dress up and shove off. They can. The borders are porous, I'm sure there's a couple of helicopters floating around



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some place. Burros, donkeys, horses. They've got trucks and—I've just got to show you these.

These [see photo on opposite page] are American Special Forces on horseback. The ones in the light colored camouflage are American Special Forces.

QUESTION: The cavalry rides again. Are they our horses? Did we send the horses?

RUMSFELD: No, we sent saddles, bridles, and horse food but did not drop horses from the air. We decided against it. Not that I'm that politically correct, but—I love horses. We end up [with] a lot of broken ankles just when people drop. ♦

## Separation of Mosque and State?

Of all the opportunists who have plied their trades since the events of September 11, from sellers of New York Fire Department turn-out gear to manufacturers of Stars'n'Stripes bikini briefs, few have proven as distasteful as Americans United for Separation of Church and State. One would think as the nation turns to God during this time of crisis, that the AU would take a break from its specialty of sneering at every "God bless you" after a sneeze.

But no, executive director Barry Lynn has been a busy beaver. In the last two months here is just a partial list of things his organization has come out against: teachers joining students for prayer outside schools, a U.S. House resolution permitting schools to display the words "God Bless America" as an expression of support for the nation, a National Day of Prayer, and government officials "asserting that prayer and religious worship are somehow the natural, logical, or expected reaction to recent events."

It would seem, then, that Americans United should have been in their denunciatory glory last week, when President Bush hosted ambassadors from 53 Muslim nations for some serious church/state commingling. The guests (which oddly for an anti-terrorist gathering included the Syrian ambassador and the PLO's man in Washington), dropped by the White House to celebrate their traditional Iftar meal, which breaks the sunrise-to-sunset fast during their holy month of Ramadan.

After saying their prayers in the East Reception Room, the envoys supped on biryani rice and pomegranate-glazed rack of lamb, while Bush made enough explicit religious references to send Lynn and Co. into spasms of panic. Not only did the president say that "tonight we are reminded of God's greatness," but he proclaimed Islam a "great faith" in which "God first revealed His word in the holy Koran to the prophet Muhammad." The terrorists, Bush said, "have no home in any faith" (Lynn may want to send them a pledge pitch), and evil, Bush added, "has no holy days."

So what did Americans United have to say about this state-endorsed, sectarian abomination? Not a word. THE SCRAPBOOK must have been mistaken about AU. For years, we believed the only thing they cared about was removing God from the public square. Now, it appears, they don't mind if God stays—so long as he goes by "Allah." ♦



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# Casual

## Profiles in Futility

"You know why we lost?" a red-faced Henry accusingly asked me. This was four seasons ago, after my first game coaching the Black Bats, a soccer team of 5-year-olds, and, as matter of fact, I hadn't a clue why we lost. But before Henry could finish, John Edwin interrupted.

"What are Black Bats anyway? Do bats come in green or something?"

The name, John and his teammates agreed, was to blame. I looked to the other coach, Frank Hyre, for some guidance. He smiled, shrugged his shoulders, and said nothing.

Bewildered after the shellacking we'd just taken, Frank and I agreed to revisit the team name. We really had no choice. Shortly afterwards, the kids—with a cohesive defiance the AFL-CIO would envy—refused to practice ever again as the Black Bats.

Labor dispute settled, the newly minted Blastoids were, days later, crushed by the Spiders. But that match hadn't even ended when the team-name debate reignited in earnest. Nancy and Jack, two of the team's stars, huddled near midfield, totally oblivious to the game going on around them. With the ball lolling by their feet, they considered the relative merits of Snakes and Killer Sharks: "It's either just plain sharks or killer whales, you stupid idiot."

After that second consecutive high-scoring shutout, Coach Hyre and I gathered our players and reviewed the fundamentals. (Remember, we switch directions at halftime. . . . Tie your shoes in double-knots. . . . No, orange peels are not mouthguards.) The next game was our first home game, and though it would be played on the same field as the previous two, we were brimming with enthusiasm.

In our league, the home team provides balls, referees, and linesmen. But it is granted a major advantage: choice of goals to defend in the first half. On a normal field, with full-grown players such matters are of minimal importance. But our enforcer was 3'4" and 55 lbs. Besides, the field was on such a slope that downhill momentum was no doubt the league's top scorer. Our strategy was simple: Go downhill in the first half, rack up the goals, and demoralize the Rosemont Nightmare.

The Black Bats-cum-Blastoids did

manage to score two goals, but the Rosemont Nightmare scored six. After the final whistle, the players stared angrily at us coaches. "Winning doesn't matter," we said. "That's what losers always say," Jack scoffed.

Coach Hyre and I agreed to one last name change. We gave them until Friday to come up with their own proposals. And with the best attendance ever at a practice, we went through the candidates, most of them predictable: Tigers, Bears, Pokémons. Plenty of candidates, but no consensus. Coach Hyre and I discussed whether to throw our collective weight behind one suggestion or, acknowledging the power of reverse psychology, to oppose vigorously just one. We realized the second option risked hurt feelings, so when one of the quieter players offered the vigorous-sounding "Armadillos," we pounced. Listening to our description of Armadillos, one might think these were the toughest, fastest, smartest animals on the planet—a bit of a stretch—and that they were virtually indestructible—closer to the truth. "The three-banded armadillo can roll itself into a ball for protection," piped up the team brainiac.

Much to our surprise and delight, eight of the nine players wanted to be Armadillos. Problem solved. Then we noticed Henry, sulking in a way that indicated trouble. "But what about Goldums?" he asked, repeating a suggestion he had made earlier.

"Henry, what *are* Goldums?" I asked, trying to be patient.

"Hmmpph," he sighed with indignation. "*Everyone* knows what Goldums are!"

Henry pouted for ten minutes until Coach Hyre came up with a compromise that at the time seemed like a very good idea. "I've got it," he declared. "We'll be the Golden Armadillos." The players exchanged glances that signaled tentative approval, as if to say, "I'm in if you are." Seizing on this momentary harmony, I contributed some nonsense about gold medals, the Olympics, world champions, and impenetrable outer shells.

Done. Golden Armadillos it was.

The league doesn't keep track of wins and losses. But in our case, such a tally is easy. In the twenty-odd games since becoming the Golden Armadillos, we've won only twice. One of those wins came when neither Coach Hyre nor I could make it, and my younger brother filled in as coach.

In the absence of a players' strike, our team has stuck with its peculiar name. I've bought Golden Armadillo good-luck charms, and Coach Hyre has given out Golden Armadillo awards. But with just two wins in four seasons, I'm beginning to think we'd have better luck with a different name. Either that, or I should have my brother take over.

**Stephen F. Hayes**



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## Is Iraq a Threat?

I read with interest Stephen F. Hayes's article on Scott Ritter, and I would like to comment on it ("Saddam Hussein's American Apologist," Nov. 19).

The article seems agenda-driven, probably due to the current with-us-or-against-us mentality, which is reminiscent of a slogan in a totalitarian state, not in a democracy.

Generally, when a journalist is presented with a "he says, they say" dilemma, he investigates the facts, in this case about the status of disarmament in Iraq, and then lays out the findings objectively. Hayes instead wholeheartedly embraces the views of Richard Butler and others, but he cites nothing to substantiate their belief that Iraq represents a credible threat to the United States, except mentions of their abstract musings about hypothetical intent on the part of Saddam Hussein. Is this the best we can expect from Butler, the man who led UNSCOM—the organization charged with the disarmament of Iraq—for a year and a half?

Hayes writes, "Among the former arms inspectors, Ritter is unique in his benign views of the Iraqi threat." The author conveniently ignores, or is unaware of, the views expressed by other inspectors such as Roger Hill, Chris Cobb-Smith, and especially Rolf Ekeus, the first chairman of UNSCOM, who back in 1995 said that Iraq had been "fundamentally disarmed."

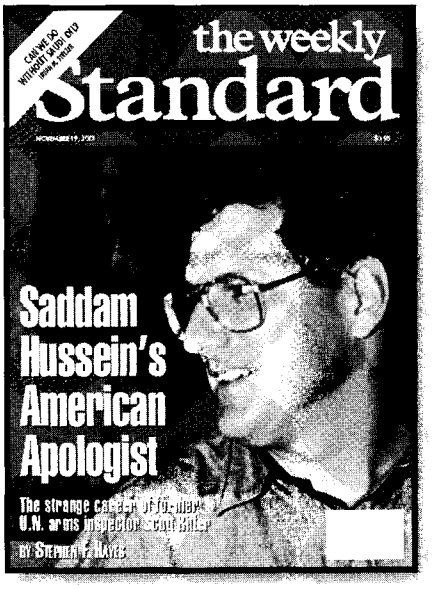
Ekeus served as the chairman of UNSCOM for longer than Richard Butler did, and he is widely respected for his knowledge and for his working to keep UNSCOM strictly within the mandate of the Security Council.

The same cannot be said about Butler. Even a cursory look at Butler's record will show that almost everything he has said after Sept. 11 has been incorrect, including, most recently, that "the threat of anthrax could be of Iraqi origin." Also, that "Iraq could be behind the September 11 attacks," another irresponsible speculation void of fact.

Had Hayes taken the trouble to speak to UNSCOM staff, he would have learned that Butler is not respected because his knowledge of the issues pertaining to Iraq's disarmament is superficial; because he willingly abused the mandate given to his organization by the Security Council; because he has a knack for speaking before thinking; and ultimately because his attitude toward the truth is lax.

Scott Ritter's record paints a different picture. While serving as a battle damage assessment analyst during the Gulf War, he stuck to his position—however unpopular at the time—that no SCUD launchers were destroyed during the U.S. bombing of Iraq. His assessment proved accurate.

In his 1999 book *Endgame*, he claimed that if the Iraqi problem were not addressed, the sanctions would start to lose their effectiveness and the United States would lose its supporters worldwide. He was right. He called the policy of containment of Saddam Hussein an abject failure, and he was right again.




In relation to the current crisis, Ritter has stated that the anthrax incidents appear to be homegrown, and the evidence to date points in that direction. He has been saying that the United States cannot move on Iraq without possessing hard evidence of its involvement in the Sept. 11 attacks because the coalition, so fragile, would collapse. Incidentally, Colin Powell, James Baker, and Brent Scowcroft are saying the same thing. Does that make them Saddam's American apologists?

Wrapping oneself in an American flag does not make one a patriot. Telling the truth does. Sadly, it seems being honest is not so palatable anymore. The Weekly Standard would have better served its readers if the author had not just taken Scott Ritter's and Richard Butler's words at face value, but instead taken the time to analyze the UNSCOM records and the conclusions of technical experts together to present an objective picture of Iraq's disarmament status.

After all, this is not about Scott Ritter, Richard Butler, or even Saddam Hussein, although, in his "get Saddam at all costs" attitude Hayes would surely disagree. What this is about is whether or not Iraq currently represents a threat to the United States.

Marina Ritter
*Delmar, NY*

Editor's Note: Marina Ritter is the wife of Scott Ritter.

## Escape from the Saudis

Irwin M. Stelzer offers extraordinary insight into the United States' uncomfortable alliance with Saudi Arabia, but I am very disturbed by his pessimism regarding America's ability to wean itself off Saudi oil ("Can We Do Without Saudi Oil?" Nov. 19). The figure of $5 per gallon that Stelzer tosses out is comparable to that paid by most Western Europeans (most of which is due to taxes). Nonetheless, Western Europeans still enjoy a fairly high standard of living.

I don't have an axe to grind with sport-utility vehicle owners, and I know that a sudden change in the price of oil can send this country into a deep recession. But I am also aware that even a gradual approach to this matter would overcome the colossal inertia of vested interests, and that, if we have the will, we too should be prepared to pay $5 per gallon at the pump.

Antonio R. Chaves
*Storrs, CT*

The key to reducing the United States' dependence on Saudi oil is technology. Former Saudi industry and electricity minister Hashem Yamani admitted as much when he said, "The Stone Age didn't come to an end because of a lack of stones."



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Irwin M. Stelzer hints at nuclear power and coal as viable energy options, and we can say for certain that the replacement for oil will not be wind or solar power. The solution, though, will be something like the hydrogen fuel cell, which is still not quite cost effective.

The United States has not made a serious effort to reduce its need for Saudi oil since it suffered in the 1973 oil embargo, a declared jihad. There have been numerous political declarations of energy independence plans, but they have been ineffective. Stelzer notes correctly that the Saudis have enormous investments in the U.S. economy and thus are not interested in bankrupting us with high oil prices. Following the same logic, he is wrong to suggest we price gasoline at $5 per gallon to discourage use.

It is a shame that the Saudis can produce oil and get it onto a waiting tanker ship for $2 or $3 per barrel yet charge us $20 per barrel. Last year when oil was around $34 per barrel, President Clinton confronted Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah at the Millennium Conference about taking action on the price of oil. The prince responded, "Why don't you begin by lowering your taxes on oil products?"

President Bush has mentioned technology previously as part of his energy independence plan, but it should be a top plank in his war on terrorism. We can't risk Saudi ambivalence in this war.

GEORGE HULSHART
*Pawleys Island, SC*

IN "WASHINGTON GOES TO WAR" (Nov. 12), Michael S. Greve writes, apropos of big government initiatives we should oppose, "That is why Washington-is-back pundits believe the public's renewed trust in Washington and its support for the war against terrorism will translate into support for Hillary Clinton's wish list—from improved mental health care to more efficient internal combustion engines . . . ."

I believe developing more efficient internal combustion engines, efficient and safe nuclear power plants, and other alternative energy sources is a proper goal for the federal government. If we had those, we wouldn't care what Arab nations thought of us, or of our support for fellow democracies such as Israel and India. As it is, Saudi Arabia has a knife at our economic throat. A big government program, or set of them, designed to remove that knife should be a primary war aim.

JAMES C. CASE
*Reston, VA*

## WHAT HAPPENS NEXT

NOW THAT the recommendations in Jerome M. Marcus's "Terrorists and the Law of War" (Nov. 19) have largely become public sentiment, it is important to point out that historical practice close to ground zero in New York supports the use of military commissions for those who violate the laws of war.

For example, when a hapless band of Confederate agents dressed in civilian clothes failed in their scheme to set lower Manhattan ablaze in 1864, the one individual captured from this benighted group was tried by a military commission that convened on Bleecker Street, found guilty of violating the laws of war, and later hanged at Fort Lafayette. While no one died in this abortive Confederate effort, President Lincoln declined to exercise clemency. Furthermore, even the liberal German refugee scholar Francis Lieber, who devised our first code of the law of war, emphasized that those who engage in irregular warfare can be dealt with summarily.

In short, the case for military tribunals rests upon sound historical footing.

Moreover, if the order is judiciously applied only to those who have actually engaged in acts of war, as the order certainly appears intended to be used, then there should be no issue under *Ex Parte Milligan*, since that case only precluded the use of military commissions against the Copperhead sympathizers of the Confederacy rather than against Confederate guerrillas involved in acts contrary to the laws of war.

THOMAS E. MOSELEY
*Newark, NJ*

## THE PAKISTAN PROBLEM

REUEL MARC GERECHT's "Pakistan's Taliban Problem" (Nov. 5) is a down-to-earth study of the fundamental realities in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and also in Kashmir. Gerecht is particularly on target when he points out the predicament Pakistan president Pervez Musharraf is in, as well as the leader's subtlety, by proposing that Musharraf will support the Taliban on one hand and remain a part of the United States' anti-terrorism campaign on the other. Perhaps he has already resorted to this duplicitous strategy, as might be evident from the capture and murder of CIA messenger Abdul Haq. Evidently, the Taliban was kept informed of Haq's movements by Pakistan's intelligence agency ISI.

We would be gullible to believe that the Pakistani dictator was unaware of these facts. The Taliban is Pakistan's favorite child, Musharraf or no Musharraf, and Pakistan's rulers cannot afford to see the Taliban being nipped off. There is also the danger of Pakistan supplying vital information of American strategies to the Taliban without being incriminated, to the chagrin of Pentagon experts.

The United States must decide who to believe and who not to believe. Today's vacillation toward Pakistan's policy will not last long; its objective will ultimately be survival. The Bush administration is caught in a tricky position, and as spelled out by Gerecht, whatever action it takes regarding the Taliban, must be swift and decisive. This will avoid the danger of Pakistan's being fractured, which it will be if the situation is prolonged. Such a scenario would not be in the interests of the United States or of Pakistan's neighbor India.

G.V. ASHTEKAR
*Dombivli, India*

• • •

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the weekly Standard

# Is the President a "Dictator"?

It is now a virtually unquestioned assumption of American elite conversation that the law enforcement measures George W. Bush has adopted in the aftermath of September 11 make him, as the *New York Times* matter-of-factly reports, "only the latest of many presidents to restrict civil liberties in wartime."

There is apocalyptic indignation about this development at the *Times* editorial page, which excoriates Bush for a "travesty of justice" and a "breathtaking departure" from legal tradition. There is bipartisan grumbling over executive branch unilateralism among legislators on Capitol Hill. On the other hand, leading constitutional lawyers—Laurence Tribe on the "left" and Kenneth Starr on the "right," for example—have generally voiced approval of the administration's moves, citing certain real-world exigencies. And then there is Judge Richard A. Posner of the Seventh U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, eager as ever to pee on the shoes of civics-class pietism. "It stands to reason that our civil liberties will be curtailed" during national emergencies, Posner snorts in the December *Atlantic*. "They *should* be curtailed." Except, the judge adds, with respect to the private enjoyment of heroin and cocaine, which should be decriminalized posthaste (the better, perhaps, to subdue domestic dissent).

So in one sense, reaction is obviously mixed. But at the same time there is something strikingly consistent about most of the commentary so far: its near-total unconcern for substantive detail. Practically everyone is weighing in on the question whether we should be alarmed or relieved that the president has suspended legal protections ordinarily taken for granted in the United States. But hardly a one of them bothers to demonstrate with any precision that the president has, in fact, done anything of the kind. Bush's most splenetic critics, in particular, apparently deem a mere recitation of recent Department of Justice initiatives sufficient to establish that those initiatives have emasculated the Bill of Rights.

This is quite weird, really. Anyone with an average IQ and an Internet connection can perform the kind of legal research necessary to reach a minimally creditable judgment about the constitutional character of the Bush administration's anti-terrorism campaign. But a job like this takes more time and mental effort than most of us prefer to expend. So we have come to depend on professional journalists and politicians to do the bulk of it for us. Which is fine—as long as they're actually doing it. Say, in the ordinary course of events, that the punditburo reports the president of the United States has lately "assumed . . . dictatorial powers" (syndicated columnist William Safire, November 15). We would like to think that any such conclusion was based on a more than passing familiarity with the relevant statutes and regulations and Supreme Court precedents, wouldn't we? And we should therefore expect to find some evidence to that effect in the work of our designated opinionmakers, shouldn't we?

But we don't. Instead we find this, and it is altogether bizarre: George W. Bush is nowadays everywhere and constantly criticized for anti-terrorism "decrees" that allegedly disdain the standard procedural guarantees of American law—by people who themselves disdain to explain, or simply don't know, exactly what those guarantees might be.

For instance. Just this past June, the Supreme Court decided a case called *Zadvydas* v. *Davis* involving, among other things, the extent to which the Fifth Amendment limits the federal government's authority to incarcerate aliens it is attempting to deport. Here the Court was sharply divided, and its narrow holding was logically problematic, to say the least: In certain limited circumstances, the majority appeared to rule, a criminal alien whose presence in the United States is otherwise and completely illegal still enjoys a constitutional right to be set free on our streets. Nevertheless, despite the peculiarity of its bottom-line reasoning, much of the *Zadvydas* decision remains directly applicable to the current controversy over whether the Bush presidency has become a tyranny.

Over the past two and a half months, since the World



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Trade Center and Pentagon atrocities, John Ashcroft's Justice Department has "subjected" more than 1,000 foreign nationals temporarily resident in the United States, most all of them of Arab descent or Muslim faith, to "summary," "secret," and "indefinite" detention—"beyond review" by the federal courts. The program so characterized has been widely and bitterly condemned as unconstitutional. Richard Cohen of the *Washington Post* informs us that the detentions are so outlandishly unconstitutional, in fact, as to constitute an "American gulag."

Yes, well. How can he be so sure, one wonders? As a jurisprudential matter, any respectable pronouncement on the constitutionality of the Bush/Ashcroft "gulag" must take extensive account of the Supreme Court's most recent refinement of the due process rights implicated by alien detentions, you would think. And yet never in his column has Richard Cohen so much as alluded to the existence of the ruling in *Zadvydas*. Nor can he have learned about *Zadvydas*'s suddenly renewed relevance from the work of his colleagues, for not once since September 11 has the *Washington Post*—or any other major American newspaper, such is modern journalism's chronic, shocking ignorance of the law—mentioned a single word about that case.

*The notion that the Justice Department has subjected Mazen Al-Najjar to arbitrary and harsh treatment is preposterous.*

In other words, dear reader, your morning daily has proved a useless guide to precisely that awful question it has helped make current: Have the president and his attorney general violated their oaths of office by mounting a clear and powerful assault on our founding document?

For a start toward the real answer, perhaps we should provide a little update on Sami Al-Arian, the University of South Florida computer engineering professor whom we have met before in these pages. Al-Arian is a piece of work: a man who in the past has played host or even employer—right there in the Tampa/St. Pete metropolitan area—to a number of notorious international terrorists and their equally notorious propagandists and sympathizers. Al-Arian appears ill-disposed towards Jewish people; in February 1995, ten days after two young Arab zombies had blown themselves up at an Israeli bus stop, killing 22 people and injuring 59 others, Al-Arian wrote a fund-raising letter exulting in the deed and requesting "support to the jihad effort in Palestine so that operations such as these can continue." Al-Arian appears similarly ill-disposed toward Americans, even those who aren't Jewish. "Let us damn America" and its allies "until death" he has been heard to proclaim, at one of the many jihadist pep rallies he has sponsored since arriving in the states more than a decade ago.

Federal authorities have been keenly aware of Sami Al-Arian since the mid 1990s. The FBI and INS, in particular, seem soon thereafter to have concluded that he was the Palestinian Islamic Jihad's principal representative in North America. But so habitually cautious about the law is our Justice Department that Al-Arian has never been charged with a crime. Nor has he ever been targeted for deportation. Nor—even now, while the government is said to be rounding up every Arab or Muslim fellow it can get its hands on—has Al-Arian even been detained. Quite the contrary; he is currently free as a bird, and the subject of an incredibly stupid profile in the *Los Angeles Times*, which thinks we should know that Sami Al-Arian "wears Hush Puppies and resembles Mahatma Gandhi."

Some "gulag."

Interestingly enough, it is none other than Al-Arian's brother-in-law and full partner in the promotion of political violence, one Mazen Al-Najjar, whom critics of the Justice Department's "anti-Arab witchhunt" are quickest to cite as a sympathetic victim. Sympathy for Al-Najjar seems less appropriate the more you know about him, however. And properly understood, the extensive litigation his case has spawned tends to rebut, rather than reinforce, the "civil libertarian" complaint routinely made on behalf of Arab and Muslim aliens detained by the INS in conjunction with past and current terrorism investigations. The notion that the Justice Department has subjected Mazen Al-Najjar to arbitrary, harsh, and constitutionally irregular treatment is preposterous. For the moment, at least, pending his latest appeal, Al-Najjar, too, like his brother-in-law, walks the streets of Tampa, Florida, a free man. But for the government's determination that he is a very dangerous man—were he an "ordinary" subject of American immigration law, that is—Al-Najjar would almost certainly have been expelled from our shores, without the slightest fuss, a very long time ago.

Al-Najjar, a Palestinian native of Gaza, arrived in the United States from the United Arab Emirates in 1981. Having entered the country with "refugee" status, he then secured permission from the INS to attend a graduate school program in North Carolina. But by the spring of 1985, having failed to secure a green card by virtue of a quickie, abortive marriage to an American citizen and no longer carrying a valid student visa, Al-Najjar was "noted" by the INS for thus-obligatory deportation proceedings. Which he has been fighting ever since, though he has all along acknowledged that his presence within our borders is unlawful.

His lawyers' arguments are a small masterpiece of Kafkaesque black comedy. Al-Najjar moved to Tampa in 1986, where he began a lengthy and intimate professional



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collaboration with Sami Al-Arian in the development of a hate-spewing "Islamic think tank" and affiliated "charity." By virtue of his participation in these apparent terrorist front groups, Al-Najjar was arrested in 1997 by FBI and INS agents who had collected what more than one reviewing court has since called "pertinent and reliable" evidence that he is an active associate of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad—and so represents an ongoing threat to the people, property, and national security of the United States. And?

And precisely *because* the federal government has adjudged him a terrorist, Al-Najjar's attorneys contend, it must now grant him political asylum here; few foreign countries would even consider accepting extradition of such a character, and any that might would very likely persecute him. We can't have that. Nor, the argument continues, can we keep him in detention. The Justice Department's conclusion that Al-Najjar is a fanatic is based on highly sensitive foreign intelligence information that it dare not reveal in open court, so he is unable effectively to defend himself against the charge—which he claims an inviolable Fifth Amendment right to do.

Mazen Al-Najjar's asylum demand is transparently ridiculous. And Mazen Al-Najjar's Fifth Amendment argument, though it appears to strike an emotional chord among constitutional naifs, is ridiculous, as well. There is Supreme Court precedent that is directly on point here. In February 1999, deciding a case called *Reno* v. *Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee*, an 8-1 majority of the Court ruled that "when an alien's continuing presence in this country is in violation of the immigration laws, the government does not offend the Constitution by deporting [or detaining] him for the additional reason that it believes him to be a member of an organization that supports terrorist activity." Moreover, "[t]he Executive should not have to disclose its 'real' reasons" for reaching that conclusion, since "a court would be ill equipped to determine their authenticity and utterly unable to assess their adequacy."

This was the law for more than two years before George W. Bush became president. And it is the same law, unamended, that he is both enforcing and obeying in connection with the Justice Department's post-September 11 detentions of certain Arab and Muslim aliens holding non-immigrant student, tourist, or employment visas. All the detainees have enjoyed the right to counsel, as has Mazen Al-Najjar. All have been guaranteed *habeas corpus* review in the federal courts, as has Mazen Al-Najjar. And most have already been released from detention, as has Mazen Al-Najjar. A small number are being held on material witness warrants, their case records sealed—by a U.S. District Court judge, as federal grand jury rules require. And the few hundred remaining detainees are being held for immigration or other criminal violations. They are thus presumptively deportable. And during the pendancy of deportation proceedings—back to *Zadvydas* again—the government may detain any illegal alien at its discretion.

How, then, with respect to these detentions, is it fair to say that President Bush has restricted previously existing civil liberties? It is not fair to say so. It is false. In fact, the entire parade of constitutional horribles alleged against the administration is a groundless slander, as we will no doubt have occasion to explain in exhaustive detail over the coming weeks. Put simply, the people currently accusing the president of "dictatorship" do not know what they're talking about. That they are eager to talk anyway; that they are prepared to entertain a dystopian fantasy about their democratic government; that they are willing to "spell it with a K," as we used to say back in the 1960s . . . well, that is a question we would prefer to leave to the psychiatrists.

*—David Tell, for the Editors*

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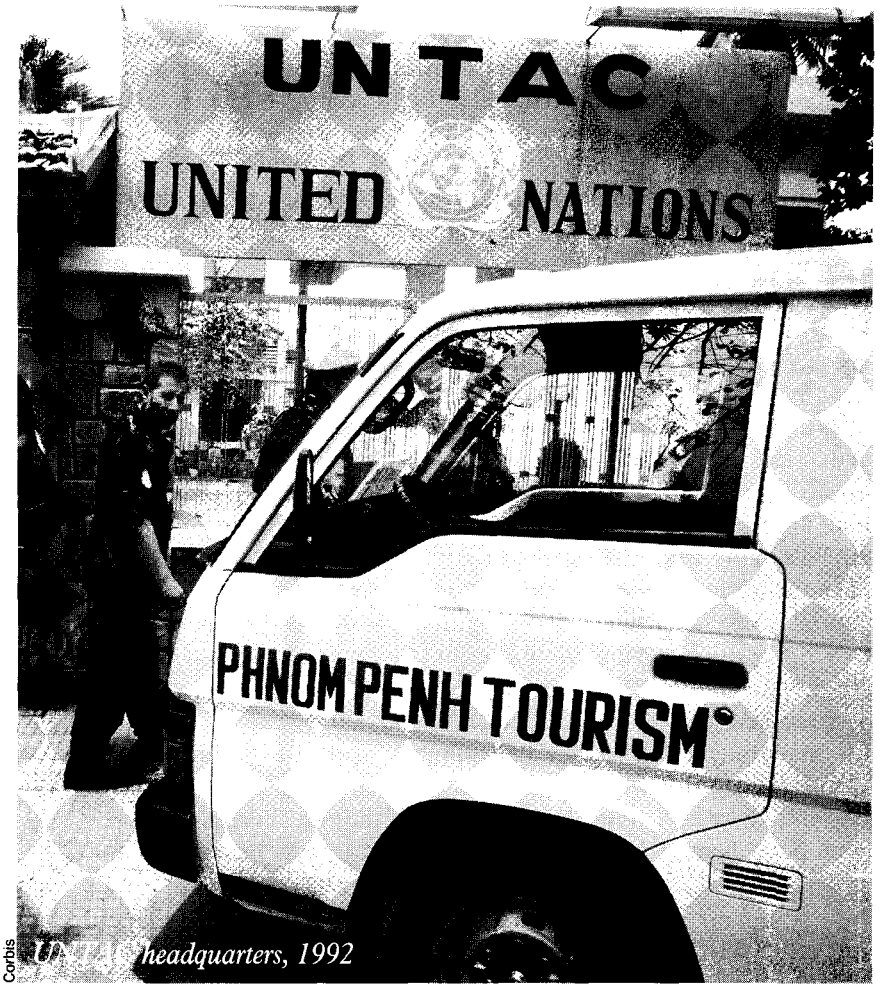


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*UNTAC headquarters, 1992*

# God Save the Afghans . . .

## From the U.N. showing up. BY SAM DEALEY

AFGHAN LEADERS vying for control of their country have been dragooned into working with the United Nations in an effort to craft a transitional government. The comparison being drawn most often—by a host of American and British officials, and by U.N. secretary general Kofi Annan—is to the U.N. effort in Cambodia. Pity the poor Afghans.

*Sam Dealey is a writer in Washington, D.C.*

At a September 1990 conference in Paris, the U.N. sought to end a quarter century of wars in Cambodia by bringing together the country's major political factions to hammer out a framework for peace. The negotiations with the Vietnamese puppet regime of Cambodia, led by Hun Sen, and the three opposition groups, most significantly Prince Ranariddh's royalist party and Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, led to the creation of a joint interim government under the titular head of Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk.

But the real power lay with the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), whose mandate was "to restore and maintain peace in Cambodia, to promote national reconciliation, and to ensure the exercise of the right to self-determination of the Cambodian people through free and fair elections"—and to do so by "all powers necessary."

Virtually overnight, Cambodia was transformed into a multicultural fraternity house. For the bargain price of nearly $3 billion, the U.N. brought in over 22,000 personnel from places near and far. Over the next two years, peace, democracy, and the rule of law would be enforced by the likes of Cameroonians, Nigerians, Indonesians, and Bulgarians (who came to be known in Phnom Penh as "Vulgarians").

For their public service, UNTAC's personnel were paid a stipend of $130 per *day*—this, in a country which boasted a per capita income of $120 per *year*. Brawls and boozing were commonplace; drug use shot through the roof. Consorting with prostitutes filled the empty hours, and AIDS and venereal disease spread like wildfire. In his *Off the Rails in Phnom Penh*, Amit Gilboa writes that the whoring got so bad the U.N. issued a directive requesting that UNTAC vehicles not be parked in front of brothels.

The most unprincipled behavior, however, came not from UNTAC's rank and file, but from the U.N. leadership itself, which failed in its mission from day one.

The key to Cambodia's democratic transition rested in the U.N.'s assuming full control of the government. If Hun Sen's army could be tamed, the Khmer Rouge would ostensibly demobilize and submit to national elections. But Hun Sen refused to relinquish control over his government, much less the armed forces, and the U.N. did little to press the issue. So, Pol Pot's forces maintained their redoubts along the Thai border,



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withdrew from the election process, and continued fighting.

U.N. secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali was undaunted. The U.N.'s mission would not be sacrificed to cowardice, and elections would be held to demonstrate "the firmness of the international community's commitment to the Cambodian people." This, writes Henry Kamm in his *Cambodia: Report from a Stricken Land*, was "an astonishing feat of diplomatic sleight of hand." Free and fair elections, "not peace and reconciliation, was made the objective by which success or failure . . . was to be judged."

As the election drew nearer, UNTAC suffered again from its first blunder of leaving Hun Sen in charge. His ruling Cambodian People's Party used the state's considerable apparatus to intimidate voters. "Politically motivated murders, abductions, bombings, threats and other forms of intimidation also increased, most of them carried out by soldiers, police or supporters of [Hun Sen's government] against . . . political parties engaged in lawful political activity," wrote Boutros-Ghali.

Despite this, the May 1993 elections were a smashing success. Of the roughly 4.7 million Cambodians eligible to vote, nearly 90 percent did. Even more surprising, Hun Sen lost. When all the votes were tallied, Prince Ranariddh emerged the clear winner, with 45 percent. Hun Sen took 38 percent of the vote, and the rest was split among 17 other party leaders. While the seats of the National Assembly were distributed proportionally, control of the executive went to Ranariddh.

"The voters showed uncommon bravery and fortitude, sometimes walking several miles to cast their ballots, apparently undaunted by threats of violence or banditry, rough terrain or the heavy rain that swept much of the country," gushed Boutros-Ghali. He declared that the election results "fairly and accurately reflect the will of the Cambodian people and must be respected." Which is precisely what UNTAC proceeded not to do.

Hun Sen had no intention of giving up the government without a fight, and since he still controlled all aspects of the military, Cambodia was on the brink of another civil war. Rather than rallying the international community and its 16,000 troops to quell this thuggery, UNTAC changed the rules, making Ranariddh and Hun Sen co-prime ministers and divvying up control of the government between them. Success was turned into defeat.

"Though this arrangement had not been foreseen under the Paris Agreements," Boutros-Ghali wrote, "it appeared to provide a cooperative framework that would contribute to the country's stability and reconciliation." The U.N. claimed victory and quickly pulled out.

The most disturbing aspect of the U.N.'s Cambodia operation is that UNTAC's failures were not an isolated case. Behind the rhetoric of peace at any cost—and the invoices to prove it—the U.N. lacks the resolve to enforce its missions. From Somalia to East Timor to Kosovo, the U.N. consistently leaves the campsite dirtier than they found it.

Cambodia today is not a pretty picture. Hun Sen holds all effective government power, corruption is endemic, and the country remains one of the world's most violent and desperate backwaters. Political opposition leaders and journalists continue to turn up dead, brutal Khmer Rouge leaders remain openly at large, and the country's only steady source of foreign income is the hundreds of taxpayer-funded non-governmental organizations now battling (and often contributing to) the U.N.'s other legacy: prostitution, drugs, and AIDS.

But perhaps the most telling indictment of UNTAC's botched efforts comes in the form of a picture taped to the door of *Phnom Penh Post* editor-in-chief Michael Hayes. It shows a young Khmer lying face down in a ditch by the side of a road, his back riddled with bullets. The police ruled it a suicide. ♦

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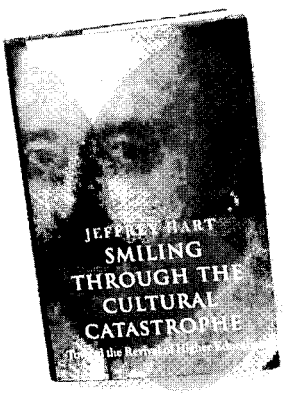


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# Anti-Americanism in Crisis

## The Europeans miss their old bogeyman.

**BY LIONEL SHRIVER**

*London*

IN LONDON'S *GUARDIAN* last month, Seumas Milne decried the war in Afghanistan as a "cruel absurdity"—an assault on "one of the poorest and most ruined countries in the world by the planet's richest and most powerful state." Now that the war against the Taliban looks like a rout, the numerous Europeans who have rubbished the U.S.-led campaign as a militarily doomed human-rights disaster may be pulled up short. So far, pictures of Afghans jubilantly shaving beards and flying kites appear to document more of a liberation than one more callous act of American browbeating.

Nevertheless, many Europeans since September 11 have betrayed a deep discomfort with according victim status to the almighty United States. The World Trade Center and Pentagon, anthrax, another air disaster in Queens—these days Americans seem to display the ultimate in cultural avarice. With all that power and money, now they expect sympathy too.

Since everyone loves a winner, European backing for the campaign in Afghanistan is almost certain to resurge, absent scandalous Northern Alliance atrocities. But given how short a time the United States has needed its allies to hang in there, popular European support for retaliation against al Qaeda has proven tellingly thin. It was only three weeks into the campaign when *Le Monde* declared, "The conduct of the war alarms Europe," while peace protests in Berlin, Naples, and London were gathering momentum; 15,000 demonstrators turned up in Trafalgar Square to condemn the bombardment on November 18, when such events were already teetering on the brink of anachronism. According to polls, support for participation in the coalition war effort in both Germany and Italy had sunk in one month to a mere 51 percent. Even in the U.K., enthusiasm had been dwindling, from 74 percent support on October 10 to 62 percent on October 28.

*Trafalgar Square, November 18*

AP / Wide World Photos

Extremists are notoriously shrill, but often give vent to feelings that moderates share but are too embarrassed to say outright. Hence another left-wing *Guardian* journalist, Charlotte Raven, may have reassured a broad church when, as the crematory ash still swirled about lower Manhattan on September 18, she wrote, "It is perfectly possible . . . to dislike the United States just as much as you did before the WTC went down. . . . America is the same country it was before September 11. If you didn't like it then, there's no reason why you should have to pretend to now." Well, what a relief.

So jarring was the role reversal of poor, brutalized America that the European left wasted no time in restoring the United States to its rightful role as archfiend. Discomfited by CNN broadcasts of soot-streaked firemen for whom they were obliged to feel sorry, news reporters seized gratefully on more familiar visions of tattered refugee queues and the pluming strikes of B-52s. Thank heavens the United States—as Raven so sensitively described it, "a bully with a bloody nose"—was back to exploiter and aggressor, the breaker of treaties, the killer of babies.

This attachment to the United States as "the great Satan" is almost as powerful among Continental anti-globalists as among Islamic fundamentalists. Of course, it's always disagreeable to relinquish an enemy, as we understand who we are in some measure through whom we repudiate. But many a European's too-perfunctory denunciation of September 11 and

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too-eager return to Yank-bashing has displayed a psycho-political pathology all its own.

For starters, substituting Uncle Osama for Uncle Sam is intellectually unsatisfying. Plowing airliners into office blocks is self-evidently evil; to deplore the attacks' mastermind is to join the common ruck, and to get lost in the chorus. Demonizing the United States—for all its flaws, democratic, and hardly given to careening airliners into other countries' skyscrapers without provocation—requires far more political athleticism, and credit accrues to the one who succeeds.

Further, attacks on U.S. soil of such magnitude accord Americans the kind of pathos that worldly and war-weary Europeans prefer to monopolize. Suddenly the United States is bloodied, generating just the kind of history of which its people are so famously unconscious. Overnight, Americans are less fresh-faced, and harder to make fun of. While the Europeans who lived through World War II are increasingly few, ex-pat New Yorkers like me could return from a stint in Manhattan this fall as if from the Battle of the Bulge. When traders at my local market in South London asked where I had been, "New York" universally elicited a fallen countenance, sober solicitation, a shake of the head. The ingenuous airhead from the land where nothing ever happens went up in smoke one Tuesday morning. Now she's not only garnering sympathy, she has street cred.

But the unseemly haste to restore the United States as international villain has gone beyond avant-garde indignation over its now being cool to be American. Blaming September's assaults on U.S. foreign policy fortifies the soothing fiction that Islamic fanaticism is directed exclusively against the United States. There are even hints of collaborative appeasement in denunciations like those of London's *Daily Mail* columnist Andrew Alexander, who in the immediate wake of the attacks decried America's "self-sought imperial role" that had deservedly "made it enemies of every sort across the globe." *We're on your side!* the finger-pointing implies. *You terrorists don't want us, you want those guys!*

To whatever degree Seumas Milne's railing against America's "unabashed national egotism and arrogance" not two days after the attacks amounted to a craven attempt to sic the dogs on someone else, the diversionary motive was probably subconscious, and born of anxiety. For September 11 shattered the quasi-divine appearance of U.S. omnipotence. Lo, America is mortal. And if even "the planet's richest and most powerful state" can be jeopardized, there is, politically, no God. Thus the devastation in New York and Washington can't help but have plunged Europeans into the secular equivalent of a religious crisis.

In the pre-September 11 universe of America-as-God, a perfectly unchanging climate, a thriving Third World, and a just and stable Palestinian state would all have been within reach but for the United States and its greedy, manipulative policies. Yet if the United States is not all-powerful, unpredictable weather, poverty, and political impasse are Europe's responsibility, too—and so is the United States, when under attack. No wonder so many Europeans are anxious to restore the iconography of times past.

For the entire Western world, the United States is the security guarantor of last resort. Europeans take their access to this ultimate "bully" so much for granted that leftists routinely taunt and jeer the very nation to which they would turn in crisis. Since demonization is merely the flip side of deification, the scramble these last two months to restore the United States to its traditional role of bogeyman has been, ironically, a desperate and self-interested frenzy to reconstruct America's image as invincible. The prospect of a superpower ally across the Atlantic that is just another country with its own limitations—fragile and vulnerable, whose people might need your help as much as you need theirs—is apparently too frightening to contemplate. ♦


# Making Good Citizens

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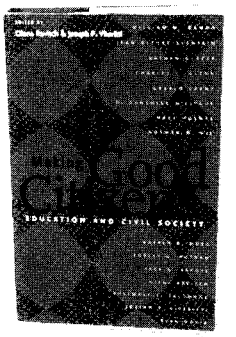

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# Sticking with the Seattle Way

## The city's voters follow the path of least resistance. BY HARRY SIEGEL

*Seattle*

FIVE YEARS AGO, Seattle was riding so high on its tech sector that *Newsweek*'s cover announced: "Everyone else is moving there. Should you?" But the intervening years have tarnished this once golden city. The police inaction that allowed the WTO riots, and the brutal police response that they belatedly provoked, were followed by a Mardi Gras riot in which a young white man was murdered by blacks and several minority men were shot by white police officers, all later cleared in administrative and judicial trials. As if that weren't enough, Mayor Paul Schell, campaigning for reelection, was beaten about the head by a bullhorn-wielding black fringe candidate for mayor.

The rapid decline of the Internet economy, accelerated by the September 11 attacks, exposed Seattle's continued reliance on a few volatile market sectors. Tourism is down, Internet layoffs occur daily, and venture capital investment has fallen. Boeing moved its corporate headquarters to Chicago earlier this year and announced plans to lay off 20,000 Seattle area workers even before the one-two punch of post-attack declines in airplane orders and the company's loss to Lockheed-Martin of the $200-billion Joint Strike Fighter contract from the Pentagon. To add to these woes, Seattle's cost of living continues to rise, even as the economy sours.

The mayoral race, just ended after a prolonged vote count, shows that Seattleites haven't acknowledged these harsh new realities. Voters ousted Schell in the first round of the two-round, nonpartisan election, making him the first incumbent mayor to be so dumped in 64 years. But of the two Democrats left in the race—big-government politico and King County Council veteran Greg Nickels, who promised the moon and a light-rail system, and conservative city attorney Mark Sidran, nicknamed Giuliani Junior by friend and foe, who insisted he would hold the line on spending and refused to rule out tax hikes, service cuts, or privatization of nonessential services—voters chose the big-spending Nickels. He squeaked into office with just under 51 percent.

Both candidates ran on a single issue: an extremely expensive rail system, proposed to solve Seattle's rapidly worsening traffic problems. Nickels, ever one to emphasize procedure, boasted of his years spent fighting for rail and his seat on the Sound Transit Board (he chairs the Finance Committee), although the board has presided over huge cost overruns without so much as breaking ground for the rail system. Sidran condemned the board's inefficiency and its plan for an initial 14-mile light-rail line connecting no important destinations, but failed to offer an alternative. Pending a better proposal, he said he would put the money into improving the inconvenient and underused buses. Voters were left with a choice between continuing a documented failure or giving up on an enterprise essential to reducing traffic congestion and pollution.

City attorney Sidran's crackdowns on the homeless, nightclubs, and unlicensed drivers ran against the mellow grain of Seattle politics, so much so that there are at least five hate websites devoted to him. His candidacy was assisted by the influx of affluent property owners during the boom years of the '90s, plus his own deep pockets and the public's desire for tough leadership in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks. He also received support from the business community, both major dailies, Governor Gary Locke, and ex-governors from both parties. In their first-round photo finish, Sidran carried many more neighborhoods than Nickels, but by much smaller margins. His voters were consistently less enthusiastic than Nickels's, and less likely to vote for Sidran in the future once the threat of a second Schell term was removed.

Sidran ran a negative campaign. He proposed few policies, but stressed that he would *not* increase spending or break ground on rail anytime soon. Most of his ads mocked his opponents rather than touting his strengths. Nickels, the consummate politician, had many get-out-the-vote operatives and even more promises. In one debate, Nickels swore to hold budget increases to the rate of inflation, except for transportation, public safety, and neighborhoods—some 60 percent of the budget.

Even if Nickels's spending plans hadn't been excessive, he'd still have faced extremely restricted means of raising revenue without cutting services. The "Seattle Way of Government" is passivity, reinforced both by an initiative process that citizens have used to limit government's power and by turf battles among overlapping jurisdictions in the city and King County. Tim Eyman, a private citizen, pushed through Initiative 747—supported by every county in Washington State except King County—which limits property tax increases to one percent annually unless citizens vote for higher rates. Next year Eyman plans to file his fourth anti-tax initiative in as many years, this one to roll back vehicle and boat taxes. On social issues, Nickels came across as a standard-issue social-services liberal. He has bragged that

*Harry Siegel is a writer and researcher living in Brooklyn.*



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where other communities discouraged their homeless and mentally ill populaces, Seattle was committed to providing them services. He pulled a classic liberal stunt, holding conferences with black community leaders where he questioned whether Sidran could legitimately govern the whole city.

The Pike Place Market, revitalized beginning in the early '70s, has been a symbol of the city's revival, but the large population of homeless people and drug abusers who float up and down Pike Street, neighboring the central business district and the Seattle Art Museum, receives less attention. What should be prime commercial real estate is dotted with check-cashing joints, a needle-exchange center, a storefront ministry, and the like. The stretch is unpleasant by day and unsafe at night, and its residents render the Market's restrooms unusable. Virtually every Seattleite one speaks with seemed resigned to these remnants of the downtown of 30 years ago. City attorney Sidran worked to change this culture with ordinances and enforcement, while Nickels has offered more of the same big-government solutions whose chief effect so far has been to expand the public-sector workforce. Having been supported at the polls by service-sector workers, he seems certain to sponsor their agenda.

The disasters of the Schell administration, which had more to do with passive leadership than with deeper urban infirmities, were a wake-up call. They should have prompted Seattle to put its house in order before it falls into structural disarray. It almost happened, but the Seattle Way is the path of least resistance. The city prospered when business boomed, and now may follow the tech industry in its downward spiral. If Nickels governs as he's promised, the city can look forward to a rolling disaster, with a growing debt and a sinking economy. The prospects are for a Seattle of endless process and no progress, and for a light-rail system that goes nowhere useful for many years to come. ♦

# Majoring in Religion

## The revival of belief among students predates September 11. BY COLLEEN CARROLL

AP / Wide World Photos

IN THE WEEKS after September 11, religious leaders and media commentators marveled that young Americans were turning to religion in droves. In Manhattan, fewer than two dozen participants were expected at a Rosh Hashana service in TriBeCa; an estimated 400 showed up, most in their 20s and 30s. At Harvard University, overflow crowds packed student Masses, and an interfaith prayer service at the law school drew 300. Officials with Campus Crusade for Christ, an evangelical ministry on some 850 campuses, reported that from the University of Nebraska at Lincoln to the University of California at Berkeley, weekly fellowship meetings were attracting record crowds.

*Colleen Carroll's book* The New Faithful: Why Young Adults Are Embracing Christian Orthodoxy *is due out next fall from Loyola Press. Her research was made possible by a Phillips Foundation fellowship.*

Many observers saw this as a reaction to crisis, the sort of visceral response that subsides when danger fades. But evidence abounds that a growing interest in religion—especially traditional religion—among the young antedates September 11 by several years. It seems to be a trend that springs from deeper roots and thus may prove to be enduring.

Bob Bordone, 29, who lectures at Harvard Law School, has watched student interest in serious faith commitments rise since he started law school there in 1994. Most campus ministers at Harvard, he thinks, send students the message that they should not be "too outspoken" for their particular faith. Yet the preference for orthodoxy has grown, he says.

"It's been student-initiated," Bordone says. "They're the ones who are looking, and most of the campus ministers tend to be more watered down."

A Catholic, Bordone attributes the trend to "a crisis of meaning" among the young. "We inherited that from the '60s generation," he says, "and we want something real."

Nearly half a continent away, at Washington University in St. Louis, the same interest in strict observance can be seen among Muslim students. When Iqbal Akhtar, 20, a New Orleans native, first attended Friday prayers on campus, fewer than half a



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dozen students showed up. Four years later, some 40 Muslim students gather for Friday prayer.

"There has been an interest in faith and faith traditions even before September 11," says Akhtar, who belongs to the Muslim Student Association. "It's been a growing trend."

Randy Parks, until recently a campus minister at Columbia University in New York, calls the religious outpouring after the terrorist attacks "an event set within a context of people already searching." At Columbia, working for InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, he witnessed an explosive growth of evangelical groups over the last two years. Graduate students in medicine, law, social work, and education formed fellowships that he describes as "grass-roots kinds of things."

Now Parks is associate pastor of Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims in Brooklyn Heights, just across the East River from where the World Trade Center stood. His Congregationalist church has 10 new members, 7 of them in their 20s or 30s. Several of these told Parks that the attacks had spurred them to follow through on their prior resolutions to join a church.

Campus Crusade for Christ has statistics showing that the boom goes back several years. Mike Tilley, who oversees campus expansion in America, says Campus Crusade participation nearly doubled between 1995 and 2000, rising from 21,000 to 40,000. At 700 of the campuses where it operates, the chapters are organized by students, not Campus Crusade staffers.

It's notable that at most campuses, evangelical groups like InterVarsity and Campus Crusade—which teach strict moral standards and salvation by faith in Jesus Christ—are flourishing, while more liberal, mainline Protestant groups struggle to attract members. At Catholic colleges with theologically and politically liberal campus ministry staffs, such as St. Louis University, students have begun to form their own "underground" groups that emphasize fidelity to the pope, traditional devotions, and adherence to Church rules.

Jean Bethke Elshtain, an ethics professor at the University of Chicago Divinity School, finds no mystery here. "It's a reaction against some of the strands of the culture," she says. Having seen her own students gravitate toward moral absolutes, she says the quest for religious truth and moral grounding has been percolating for a long time. "The mainstream media weren't paying all that much attention," Elshtain says of the reports that portrayed young adults' turning to religion as a reflexive response to fear. "I think it's much deeper than that. My hunch is that there is considerable staying power." ♦


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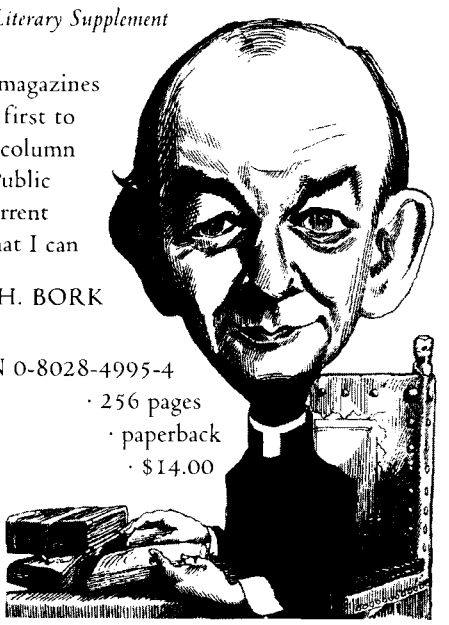

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# Doing the Latin Swing

## Latino voters are the Soccer Moms of the new decade. BY MATTHEW DOWD

LIKE THE REAGAN DEMOCRATS in the 1980s and the Soccer Moms in the 1990s, the most sought after vote bloc in the coming decade will be what you might call the Latin Swing—upwardly mobile Latino voters who are not the loyal Democrats many people assume they are.

Latinos have grown from 2 percent of all voters in the 1980 presidential election to 7 percent of all voters in 2000. In 2004, this number is expected to grow to 9 or 10 percent. Thus Latinos will be on a par for the first time with African Americans as a share of the national electorate. This might be construed as unalloyed good news for Democrats, who still receive a solid majority of Latino votes nationally. But it is not a bloc Democrats can take for granted, as we saw this past November 6.

Michael Bloomberg's victory as mayor of New York was made possible by his splitting the Latino vote with Democrat Mark Green. Exit polls showed he received about half of the Latino vote. Certainly he was helped by the internal battling between Latino leaders and the Green campaign. But there were similar squabbles between the Green campaign and African-American officials, and Bloomberg received only 22 percent of African-American votes.

Orlando Sanchez, a Republican city councilman in Houston, is in a very tight runoff with incumbent Houston mayor Lee Brown, primarily owing to his strong support from Latinos. While Sanchez is Cuban American, the 60 percent of the Latino vote he won in the first round of voting is almost exclusively non-Cuban. Again, while Brown, who is African American, received overwhelming support among African-American voters, the Latino voters showed that party labels are not nearly as important to their voting behavior. Sanchez stands an excellent chance of winning the December 1 runoff, but it will depend primarily on turnout among Latino voters.

Orlando Sanchez

AP/Wide World Photos

While Democratic candidates by and large have maintained their overwhelming lead among African-American voters, Republicans have managed to increase their share of Latino voters over the years. In the early 1980s, the average support for Republicans among Latino voters was 18 to 20 percent. In the 2000 elections, that figure had risen to 25 to 30 percent. Nationally, President Bush received 35 percent of the Latino vote.

Why the difference between African Americans and Latinos in party loyalty? For one thing, African-American voters have a much higher proportion who see themselves as liberal than Latinos do. This explains why Latino voters have always voted slightly more Republican than African Americans. But the main reason is that as Latinos rise on the economic ladder their voting behavior becomes less reliably Democratic.

The exit poll data for the 2000 election are quite revealing on this point. Latino voters with incomes under $30,000 voted 31 percent for President Bush; Latinos with incomes between $30,000 and $75,000 voted 37 percent for Bush; and Latinos with incomes above $75,000 voted 46 percent for Bush. As Latinos rise economically they begin to split their votes more between the two parties. This is exactly what happened in the early 20th century with the economic rise of European immigrant groups in America.

The growth of the Latino population has been dramatic in certain key Electoral College states. Latinos have

*Matthew Dowd is a senior adviser to the Republican National Committee. He was director of polling and media planning for the Bush-Cheney campaign.*



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grown in their traditional strongholds of Texas (29 percent of the voting age population), California (28 percent), New Mexico (39 percent), and Arizona (21 percent). But they are also becoming a sizable percentage of the voting age population in states such as Illinois (11 percent), Georgia (5 percent), North Carolina (4 percent), and Oregon (6.5 percent).

Nevada has seen its Latino voting age population grow from 9 percent in 1990 to 17 percent in 2000. This growth has mainly been in Clark County (Las Vegas), where potential Latino voters have gone from 1 in 10 in 1990 to 1 out of 5 today. Because of this growth, Nevada is no longer a reliably Republican state and will likely be a swing state in 2004.

The closeness of the 2000 election in Florida was foreshadowed by the non-Cuban Latino population growth in the central Florida areas of Tampa Bay and Orlando. In 1988, when former President Bush won Florida by more than 20 points, 2 out of every 3 Latinos in the state were of Cuban descent, a solid Republican bloc. In 2000, 2 out of 3 Latinos in Florida were non-Cuban. This fact alone moved Florida into the swing column in 2000.

So why has Texas not followed the example of California in becoming more Democratic as its Latino population grows? A big part of the reason is that Texas voters, across ethnic lines, are more conservative than California voters. A further factor may be lingering hostility among Latinos in California towards former Republican governor Pete Wilson. The success or failure of potential Republican gubernatorial candidate Richard Riordan, who had tremendous success among Latino voters as mayor of Los Angeles, may show whether the "Wilson effect" has been exorcised.

But an important and neglected difference between the two states is that nearly 45 percent of Latino voters in California live in union households, while in Texas that figure is only 6 percent. Union households are overwhelmingly Democratic. This helps explain how President Bush was able to get 43 percent of the Latino vote in Texas and only 29 percent in California. Unfortunately for Republicans, the same California pattern of union membership among Latinos holds true in Nevada and Florida as well.

All of these factors point to the Latin Swing being instrumental in coming elections. In 2002, Latin Swing voters could decide statewide races in Texas, California, Illinois, Nevada, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico. Because the Latino vote continues to grow as a share of the electorate, Republicans will need to maintain their upward trend with Latino voters. Otherwise, Latino population growth will simply be a recipe for Democratic gains.

The emergence for the first time of a minority group as a key bloc of swing voters will force candidates of both parties to become more sophisticated and less patronizing in their outreach efforts. It will force the media as well to become better sociologists. For instance, Latinos are often assumed to be monolithically Catholic, when in fact the fastest growing religious group among Latinos is Protestants. Further, immigration is often assumed by the media to be the top concern of Latinos, when in fact the top issues are presently fighting terrorism, education, and the economy.

Political consultants, too, will have to retool to deal with the Latin Swing. Consultants can no longer do a paint-by-numbers ad buy on Spanish-language TV or radio, when Latin Swing voters turn out to be watching primarily English language television.

After the last few elections, American politics has come to seem static and predictable. The emergence of the Latino middle class, or Latin Swing, as a key political bloc is about to change that. ♦


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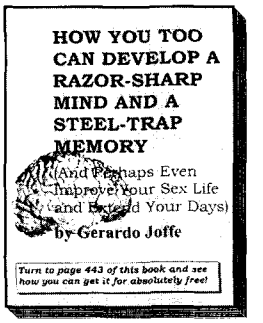


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# English Only Spoken Here

*There's a desperate shortage of foreign language speakers at our intelligence agencies. Not that they're doing anything about it.*

**By Claire Berlinski**

A rumor has been circulating in intelligence circles that communications intercepted prior to September 11 referred in Arabic to a "Christmas gift" for the United States. What no one listening to these messages realized was that the same expression can mean "an unpleasant exploding surprise."

This anecdote may or may not be true. But the lack of trained linguists in our intelligence services is no rumor. Directly after the September 11 attack, FBI Director Robert Mueller issued an urgent appeal for Arabic and Farsi translators, posting a toll-free number for applicants on the FBI's website. But this is too little, too late: A critical shortage of linguists with security clearances has crippled American intelligence efforts for decades, and will take decades to remedy fully.

One intelligence failure after another has been linked to the lack of translators and interpreters in the U.S. intelligence community. Following the 1990 murder of Rabbi Meir Kahane in Manhattan, the FBI confiscated handwritten materials in Arabic from the assassin's apartment. No one translated them. The FBI also seized Arabic videotapes and bomb-making manuals from Ahmad Ajaj, a Palestinian serving time in federal prison for passport fraud. No one translated them. Prison officials made tapes of Ajaj as he described bomb-making techniques over the phone. No one translated them. After the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, all of these materials were at last reviewed. They pointed clearly to the impending attack.

An inability to translate evidence impeded the investigation of the bombing of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. The lack of translators hampered the investigation of the October 1999 downing off Nantucket of EgyptAir Flight 990. Policymakers were not warned of impending nuclear detonations in India and Pakistan, intelligence sources say, not because the evidence was unavailable, but because analysts could not understand it. According to a recent House Intelligence Committee study, countless data are never analyzed by the NSA and CIA because too few analysts possess language skills: "Written materials can sit for months, and sometimes years, before a linguist with proper security clearances and skills can begin a translation," the authors note. A mountain of similar testimony has been presented before the House and Senate intelligence oversight committees in the past decades; nothing has been done.

The Armed Forces Medical Intelligence Center in Fort Detrick, Maryland, has *no* cleared linguists on its staff: The center is charged with tracking foreign medical capabilities, infectious diseases, and biomedical subjects of military importance. Journalists have been told that the government suspects domestic extremists of mailing anthrax to members of Congress and American news organizations. This is reminiscent of the joke in which a man looks for his missing wallet underneath a street lamp, because that's where the light is.

CIA sources with knowledge of the agency's current language capabilities say that there are perhaps four or five truly competent Arabic speakers in the entire Central Intelligence Agency. There is, according to one recently retired CIA official, only *one* speaker of Farsi at the agency with an intimate knowledge of the language. The Farsi expert enjoys a "fluent and melodious" command of the language; he is a connoisseur of Persian lyric poetry. Unfortunately, he is also "about 9,000 years old now."

True, there are analysts in the CIA's Directorate of Intelligence who read some Arabic, but the language they read is classical Arabic, not colloquial, and they can speak neither. Asked to confirm this assessment, another officer familiar with the agency's language capabilities snorts:

*Claire Berlinski is a writer living in Paris. Her novel* Alias Selena Keller*—a roman à clef about the CIA—has just been published in France by Editions Saint-Simon.*



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"That's generous. Most of the analysts don't know *squat* about Arabic." Says another senior agency official: "There's probably not a single analyst in the DI who's totally proficient in modern, colloquial, spoken Arabic. There's one guy who reads Uzbek, but he doesn't speak it."

Case officers who study Arabic in the United States are often sent for a single overseas tour (usually two to three years), then rotated elsewhere, where their language abilities atrophy. "There were no officers in Germany in the 1990s handling the Middle Eastern terrorism problem," says an official. Why not? "They couldn't speak Arabic."

The intelligence community has almost no knowledge of the rebarbative languages spoken in or around Afghanistan—Pashto, Farsi, Dari, Tajik, Azgari, Uzbek, Turkmen, Berber, Aimaq, Baluchi, Ossete, and Yaghnobi. Dari and Pashto were taught at the CIA in the 1980s, but the people who speak them are now retired. Until recently, the Defense Language Institute in Monterey did not teach the Dari variant of Farsi, the primary language of Afghanistan. U.S. Customs employs one Pashto speaker. The INS has almost no Arabic speakers. For now, intelligence officers and military personnel in Afghanistan are relying for translation on the Pakistani intelligence service—which created, supplied, and funded the Taliban.

Patrick Arrasmith

The CIA's open-source translation arm, the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, was gutted following the fall of the Berlin Wall. FBIS used to translate a wealth of otherwise unobtainable primary documentation. Now it limits its efforts to wire service copy and articles from foreign news websites. Its translators are overtaxed: Last November, puzzled analysts endeavored to limn a translation from a Palestinian newspaper in which the authors appeared to charge Israeli defense officials with the use of "phlebotomized uranium." After some consideration, readers realized that the uranium in question was, in fact, *depleted* rather than skillfully drained of its blood.

According to a senior CIA official, the agency, fearing embarrassment, exaggerates the linguistic strengths of its officers to Congress. "They list a bunch of people who they say speak Urdu, but they're talking about people who haven't used the language since 1985. So they say, 'we have 18 speakers of Urdu,' but none of these people are in any way capable of working on the street."

Does this skew intelligence collection efforts? "Absolutely. It's terrible," says the official. "It's a huge error. It has an enormous effect—if you can't speak the language, it's easy to deal with liaison" instead. Those foreign intelligence officers "probably speak English. But you're cut off from more than 90 percent of society. You can't spend time on the streets, in the marketplace. You're a prisoner in the embassy. So you spend your time with the elites, with westernized business people who are in denial about what's really going on in their countries. And you have no idea what's really going on."

What can be done? There are only two solutions: Take intelligence officers and teach them languages, or take linguists and teach them to be intelligence officers. Unfortunately, the former is virtually impossible, and the intelligence community, still fighting the Cold War, is stubbornly unwilling to do the latter.

Consider the average newly hired intelligence officer, monolingual, in his late twenties, from, say, Alabama. How long does it take to train him to speak Arabic to the level of proficiency required to conduct intelligence work in the Middle East? Arabic poses unusual problems for the American student. It is diglossic: The Classical Arabic of books, newspapers, formal speeches, and broadcasting, with its Koranic derivation, varies greatly from the colloquial Arabic spoken in homes and in the street. Each Arab country has its own dialect, and many are mutually incomprehensible: A student of Egyptian Arabic has little hope of understanding Moroc-



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can Arabic. The phonology and morphology of Modern Standard Arabic are completely different from those of Germanic and Romance languages; sounds are formed with parts of the palate unused by Americans. The monolingual from Alabama may be able to order tea and see to it that his shirts are starched after ten months of language instruction, but it is the rare American who, after ten months of study, can understand a fuzzy exchange between two mumbling native speakers discussing potentiometers, circuits, and the limitations of various explosive devices at high altitudes.

Efforts to teach Americans to speak difficult languages, either in universities or government institutions, have generally failed. The National Security and International Affairs Division of the General Accounting Office found that one-third of the graduates from the Defense Language Institute, the nation's finest language training center, had not attained the minimum proficiency of level two, on a scale of one to five, with five being the highest. American universities are of no help either. Beyond the two years of classes usually required for college entry or graduation, American students are not obliged to study languages. Few Americans undertake the serious study of a language at the appropriate age (the younger the better), fewer still study the rare and difficult tongues. According to the most recent government figures, only 4,800 American college students are now studying Arabic. Of these, perhaps 10 percent will attain proficiency. Only 600 are studying Farsi. Fewer than 500 are studying Urdu. Fewer than 10 are studying Uzbek, Turkmen, and Tajik. None of the minor languages of Afghanistan and its environs are studied in the U.S. educational system at all.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Department of Defense attempted large-scale contracting of language instruction to civilian universities, including Syracuse, Cornell, Indiana, and Yale, as well as several commercial language schools. In all cases the programs were judged failures; graduates could not satisfy DoD requirements. These programs failed for the simple reason that to learn a language requires total immersion over a period of five to ten years; the effort *must* include living abroad amid the people who speak and use the language. To achieve true proficiency in another language, the mother tongue must, in effect, be abandoned or subjugated to the adoptive tongue. *No* American university now trains students to the high professional level needed for intelligence work.

Surely, then, the United States must take native speakers of foreign languages, and train them to be intelligence officials? After all, the United States is nothing if not rich in immigrant resources, and many of these immigrants are devoted patriots—all the more so for having recently arrived in America from one or another repressive, barbarous hellhole. Estimates vary, but it is safe to say that the number of U.S. citizens from Arab nations is more than one and a half million, and the number of highly competent Arabic speakers is more than a million. There are also more than a million Iranian immigrants in the United States, several hundred thousand of whom doubtless speak excellent Farsi. Estimates of the size of the Afghan population in the United States vary from 41,000 to 180,000. Whatever the precise number, their ranks are filled with speakers of Dari, Pashto, and other useful languages.

Many of these immigrants are painfully underemployed, as anyone who comes into contact with them can attest. In a cab from Union Station a few days ago, my driver was a fully trained aeronautical engineer from Lahore and a fluent speaker of Urdu. He was desperate to find work in his field or, failing that, any work more stimulating than driving a cab. He pressed his card into my hand and begged me to help him find a better job. It would seem that the simple solution for him would be to call the FBI hotline. In fact, with his heavy accent and a personal history of some kind of unpleasantness with the Musharraf government, he would be wasting his time. And this is sadly true for the thousands of foreign-born Americans who could supply the linguistic expertise their new country lacks.

Simply put, our government does not trust native speakers of foreign languages and makes it nearly impossible for such volunteers to obtain security clearances. Prospective employees of the CIA, for example, are required to list the names and addresses of every foreigner with whom they have a close or continuing relationship. Someone who speaks Dari with native fluency almost certainly will have relatives and friends in Afghanistan, and will probably be acquainted with Islamic fundamentalists, former Communists, and other miscreants. If he knows many of them, it is very unlikely that he will receive a security clearance. If he knows only a few of them, he is probably not from Afghanistan. A qualified candidate's application can languish for years; he will be given no information about its status; often, he will be interrogated abusively by polygraphers who have never themselves left American soil and who suspect that a knowledge of Dari is evidence, prima facie, of untrustworthiness. The government's pay rates for contract workers, moreover, run well below the hourly rates offered by private businesses. The rational speaker of an exotic language will give up. He will take a job with Shell Oil.

One CIA official laments that the agency's suspicion of native speakers of foreign languages runs so deep that the organization is reluctant to hire them even as instructors.



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"Some of the people teaching [a required language] were pathetic, because there was no way good teachers could get a clearance. . . . They'd been in the U.S. so long that they'd actually forgotten [their native language]." Even native-born Americans will have trouble obtaining security clearances if they have done the one thing most necessary to achieve language proficiency—lived and studied overseas. "The more time a candidate for employment has spent abroad, and the more foreigners he knows, the less likely he is to receive a security clearance," says a CIA officer.

In truth, says a retired senior CIA officer, "the CIA doesn't *want* language speakers. They want to work with people who resemble themselves. . . . Anyone who immerses himself in a foreign culture is suspect. . . . These people [CIA officers] live in malls. You put them in a foreign city and they take taxis to the embassy, not the metro. They never meet foreigners." Another officer concurs: "There's no interest in learning languages in the CIA. No matter what they say, learning a language won't get you promoted. There's no interest in learning Dari—the prevailing attitude is that such languages, including Arabic and Farsi, are what ragheads speak. They're still thinking in terms of the Cold War—going on the dip circuit and speaking to people who speak English." Promotion panels within the CIA's Directorate of Operations reward case officers who recruit assets (however dubious the assets' value), not those who learn languages. "There's actually a disincentive to learning languages, because if you take two years to study a language, you're out of the running for assignments where you might get promoted. People would rather go to, say, Mexico City than spend two years in class," says one former officer.

Although the CIA puts prospective officers through an extensive battery of physical, psychological, verbal, and mathematical tests, not one of these tests measures the candidate's natural ability to learn a foreign language. It is not an aptitude the hiring process takes into account at all.

If the United States is serious about preventing the next terrorist atrocity, the language crisis must be redressed. In the short term, intelligence agencies will have to be forced to overcome their scruples about hiring and clearing foreign-born linguists. Certainly, the induction of a large cadre of staff agents with connections to hostile countries poses a security threat. But there is *no choice*: The threat posed by having *no* speakers of foreign languages in the intelligence community is vastly greater. The congressional oversight committees should impose a one-month deadline for processing clearances. The CIA will howl about this, but that's just too damned bad: Its leaders have presided over the most catastrophic intelligence failure in the history of the American polity, and have thereby proved themselves incapable of making these difficult decisions themselves.

Language specialists do not need Q clearances; they need never set foot in CIA or NSA headquarters. They can be placed in a separate facility in the Virginia suburbs, and they can be flown where needed around the world. Information to which they are exposed can be strictly compartmented. Ideally, the recruits will be women: Linguistic research suggests that women learn languages faster, both as children and adults, and are more able translators. Moreover, women are far less likely to be sleeper agents for Islamic radical organizations. The government should pay these officers what they would be able to earn in the private sector. Funding for FBIS should be restored. And the heads of the various intelligence agencies should be put on notice that if so much as one more American death devolves from a failure to understand confiscated materials and intercepts, their careers will be over.

In the long term, the structure of foreign language education in the United States must be imagined anew. The educational system of the world's only superpower is organized on essentially isolationist principles. Students of the only country capable of enforcing a civilized order in the world cannot remain profoundly ignorant of the languages, politics, and religions of that larger world. There is an extraordinary disjunct in academia between professions of multiculturalism—exhortations to celebrate diversity—and any kind of *serious* commitment to learning about other cultures. It's one thing to tell students that Muslims are wonderful peaceful people; it's something else entirely to teach students Arabic so they can read what is being said about their country in the wonderful peaceful newspapers of the Middle East. But anything less than the latter is insipid, meaningless pablum, and dangerous to boot.

If we are serious about training competent linguists, education in foreign languages should begin before the age of eight. Language instruction should be mandatory from elementary school, and college scholarships from the Defense Department should be given to students who major in obscure languages of value for defense. Far more American students should study abroad—not in France or Italy, but in Tunisia and Pakistan—and they should do so not for a semester, but for several years.

In the 19th century, British soldiers and administrators studied classical Pashto as a matter of routine. The United States is now the leading world power, but its efforts to understand what the rest of the world is saying have by comparison been purely desultory. Now we are paying the price. ♦



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# Bliss it was in that dawn to be wrong . . .

*The antiwar movement of the 1960s looks even worse today.*

**By Robert F. Turner**

The rubble from the World Trade Center was still burning when the first so-called peace protesters took to the streets more than two months ago. Anxious to emulate the powerful coalition that pressured the United States to abandon Indochina three decades earlier, they would have us believe that our cause is unjust, our strategy illegal, and our goals unwise.

Fortunately, to date they have been totally ineffective. The American people fully understand what happened on September 11 and why our government must respond decisively in self-defense after years of empty threats to hunt down and punish terrorists. Even within the academic community, criticism of the war effort is thus far subdued. But things can change. The public rallied around President Lyndon Johnson when he first ordered air attacks against North Vietnam: Between July and August 1964, LBJ's approval rating shot up from 42 percent to 72 percent, and the Gallup Organization attributed it to his tough stand in Vietnam. But little by little, in the following years, that support was lost.

War is by its nature a horrible thing, and we should not ignore the temptation for idealistic students, hoping to emulate the great protests of the 1960s, to be lured into the streets by radical faculty and peers. The Constitution quite properly protects the right of even uninformed and misled citizens to peaceably assemble and petition their government for a redress of grievances. But there is one thing we can do: We can educate our country about what really happened in Vietnam and about the actual consequences of the peace protests. For one of the great enduring myths from our tragic Vietnam experience is that the protesters were right, and that their courageous actions ultimately ended years of folly and brought peace to a troubled region.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Since the United States withdrew from Vietnam in the early 1970s, new information has emerged both in our own country and from the statements and writings of some of the leaders of Communist Vietnam. And although few people discuss it, it is now clear that on almost every major issue, the protesters of the sixties got their facts wrong.

Indeed, at the time of the protests this was evident to anyone who made a serious effort to ascertain the truth. I wrote my undergraduate honors thesis on Vietnam, and before entering the Army in 1968 I took part in more than a hundred teach-ins, debates, and other public programs where I listened to the protesters' arguments. The litany never changed. Between 1965 and 1968 I debated several professors and radical leaders of the "New Left," but few ever agreed to a return engagement. Even fewer bothered to change their spiel after I had demonstrated that their facts were wrong. On the few issues that were ever really debatable during the war, Hanoi has subsequently acknowledged that the protesters were duped.

We were told that the United States first became involved in Indochina after World War II when it tried to reimpose French colonial rule, and that after the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, the United States conspired with South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem to violate the 1954 Geneva Accords by refusing to hold free elections in July 1956. According to the protesters, our reason was simple: Even President Eisenhower had admitted that Communist leader Ho Chi Minh would have won the elections by 80 percent of the vote.

Denied the free election they had been promised, it was alleged, South Vietnamese nationalists had no choice, given the repressive nature of the American puppet government, so in 1960 they formed the National Liberation Front for South Vietnam. Indeed, perhaps no issue was more hotly debated than the origins of the

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NLF, which the State Department insisted was a creature of the North Vietnam Communist party. Professors at teach-ins and senators in Washington disparaged this assertion, accusing the State Department of lying to the American people. Self-righteous peace activists also gleefully quoted NLF programs calling for peace, democracy, freedom of speech and religion, and other promises seldom associated with Leninist movements. And they told us, in contrast, that South Vietnam was a dictatorship holding 202,000 "political prisoners" and that anyone there who spoke out for peace was incarcerated in subterranean "tiger cages."

Photos courtesy Robert F. Turner

*The supposedly "subterranean" South Vietnamese "tiger cages"*

We now know—and those who bothered to look knew in the sixties—that each of these allegations was false. The *Pentagon Papers* documented the strong U.S. diplomatic opposition to the return of the French to Indochina after World War II, and French military officials complained that the Americans in Indochina were a greater impediment to their return than was Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh. And while the United States did begin assisting France in 1950 (after the fall of China and the invasion of South Korea), declassified records show clearly that our support was reluctant—motivated by the greater threat of Communist aggression—and that we continued to pressure France to transfer power to genuine Vietnamese nationalists.

At the 1954 Geneva Conference, the United States, Great Britain, and South Vietnam opposed partition and called for U.N.-supervised elections to decide the future of Vietnam. The Communist delegations refused to accept effective supervision, and the United States and South Vietnam therefore refused to sign anything at Geneva and expressly reserved their freedom of action. The *Pentagon Papers* noted the wisdom of these decisions—a wisdom that was reinforced when bogus elections in North Vietnam consistently gave Ho Chi Minh at least 99.98 percent of the vote. Since Hanoi had a majority of the people, the non-Communist nationalists in South Vietnam had no chance in unsupervised elections. As for the famous Eisenhower quote, Ike was expressly talking about a possible election in 1954 (before Hanoi's efforts to impose communism by force alienated millions), not between Ho and the highly respected nationalist Ngo Dinh Diem, but between Ho and French puppet Bao Dai, a playboy living on the French Riviera, who in 1955 lost in a landslide to Diem.

We now know that the North Vietnamese *Lao Dong* (Communist) party decided in May 1959 to "liberate" South Vietnam, immediately opening the Ho Chi Minh trail and shipping supplies and soldiers south in clear violation of international law. We also know that American peace activists who confidently alleged to the contrary were simply deceived by Hanoi's propaganda. We know this because General Vo Nguyen Giap, Hanoi's defense minister throughout the war, bragged about the 1959 decision in a 1983 French television documentary. But anyone who bothered to examine the issue could easily have discovered that, three months before formation of the NLF was announced in Hanoi, the Third Party Congress in Hanoi passed a resolution calling for "our people in the South" to establish a "front" under Communist party leadership, and that entire paragraphs of the first NLF Program were taken verbatim from the Program of Hanoi's own Fatherland Front. It is undoubtedly true that most Vietnam protesters were ignorant of these facts, but it is equally true that they made no serious effort to discover the truth once they were told that their government and its military forces were evil.

Nor were there anything close to 202,000 "political prisoners" in South Vietnam (at least until the Communists seized power). That was but another of Hanoi's many lies that vast numbers of American protesters willingly embraced. In 1974, about 6,000 of the total 36,000 prison population of South Vietnam were classed as "Communist criminals"—and they included terrorists who had blown up buses, extortionists who had threatened to murder family members of farmers if they



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refused to pay "taxes" to the Viet Cong, and other violent individuals whose crimes would have led to their incarceration in any civilized society. The infamous tiny "tiger cages" turned out to be nearly 10 feet tall, above ground, and completely protected from the elements. (I know, because I measured them in 1974 while on a congressional staff visit.)

Don't misunderstand me: I don't doubt the sincerity of most who joined the protests to end the war. Like most large groups of people, the ranks of the protesters were diverse. A few were hard-line Leninists who knew well that they were trying to deceive the "imperialist" masses. But many more were college students and church members, every bit as patriotic as most Americans, who had been shocked into action after hearing an articulate antiwar speaker tell them some alleged "facts." Indeed, thanks to the efforts of B.G. Burkett (*Stolen Valor*) and others, we now know that many of the alleged "veterans" who traveled from college to college, stirring up anger with shocking tales of having witnessed or committed war crimes in Indochina, were phonies who either never went near Indochina, or served not as Green Berets or SEALs but as clerks and mechanics. Put simply, they lied to us.

*The American Friends Service Committee, in a 1972 booklet "Aid to Thieu," described South Vietnamese jail cells with ceilings so low that "the prisoners do not have any standing room, so many lose the ability to use their legs." In fact, the ceilings were almost 10 feet high.*

Some protesters were so full of hatred toward "Amerika" that they voluntarily provided intelligence information to our enemies. In *Five Years to Freedom*, my late friend Nick Rowe wrote about his own reaction when a Communist party official came into the Mekong Delta camp where he was imprisoned and informed him that "friends" of the National Liberation Front in the United States had provided personal information that showed Nick had lied to them by concealing, among other things, his Special Forces training. The Viet Cong even had the names of his parents courtesy of the "peace movement." Shortly after the 1968 Tet offensive, my sister-in-law received a telephone call—allegedly from Western Union reading an important telegram—that began: "The Secretary of the Navy regrets to inform you that your husband . . . was killed in action during combat operations in the Republic of Vietnam." They even had my brother's serial number right. In fact, he was fine; this was a little "prank" by anti-Vietnam activists hoping to get back at evil U.S. military families for their alleged "crimes against the Vietnamese people."

Other alleged "peace activists" represented Hanoi in dangling promises of special treatment and mail if relatives of U.S. POWs in Hanoi would speak out openly against the war. And of course we had the grinning Jane Fonda sitting in a North Vietnamese antiaircraft gun pretending to shoot down U.S. pilots, and making broadcasts to U.S. soldiers urging them to refuse to fight to avoid being tried as war criminals.

Most peace protesters would certainly have been disgusted had they learned of such behavior. They were not intentionally evil; all they wanted was "peace" and an end to the killing. But they were incredibly ignorant of the realities of the conflict; they too willingly embraced Communist lies as the truth, and their protests had evil consequences. In May 1973 they persuaded Congress to make it *illegal* for the president to spend further money on military operations in Indochina.

Ironically, by that point South Vietnam and the United States had essentially won the war in South Vietnam. The Viet Cong had ceased to exist as a meaningful force by 1970, the Easter offensive of 1972 had been decisively blunted, and South Vietnam controlled every population center and most of the territory that had been in Communist hands or contested five years earlier. When the United States finally decided to fight the air war seriously in 1972, our POWs in Hanoi observed firsthand that Hanoi's will was broken.

Hanoi returned to the Paris talks immediately, and a peace accord was signed in less than a month. Four months later, oblivious to the realities of Indochina and succumbing to pressures from ignorant demonstrators, a partisan Congress snatched defeat from the jaws of victory by outlawing further U.S. resistance to communism in



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Indochina. In response, North Vietnamese premier Pham Van Dong gleefully announced that "the Americans won't come back now even if we offer them candy," and Hanoi sent virtually its entire army to invade and conquer its neighbors, in flagrant violation of the U.N. Charter. I still recall the anxiety of fleeing Saigon at the end of April 1975 during the final evacuation because an angry U.S. Congress had refused to authorize the president to rescue even the Americans still in Vietnam.

Most Vietnam "peace activists" no doubt still feel pride in having "ended the war." They simply don't realize that those whom they helped bring to power slaughtered more people in the first two years of "peacetime" following the "liberation" of Indochina than were killed during the previous 14 years of war, including an estimated two million in tiny Cambodia alone. Additional millions were consigned to a Stalinist tyranny that decades later continued to rank among the world's worst human rights violators. But most Americans don't know that, having tuned out Vietnam when American troops came home more than a quarter-century ago.

Fortunately, modern Vietnam War scholars are finally getting the facts right. Even the *Village Voice* recently proclaimed that Vietnam was a "good" war. But we still have within our midst many who will not admit that they were duped by a clever adversary into preventing the United States from helping the free people of Indochina resist Leninist aggression. They refuse to recognize that their arguments were factually wrong, and that their protests were decisive in producing the slaughter or enslavement of tens of millions of innocent human beings.

Now they again take to the streets, joined by a younger generation of equally clueless sign-bearers, determined to persuade us that we should not respond to terrorists who murdered thousands of our fellow Americans and promise to continue such attacks. They have a constitutional right to protest, which should be respected. But they don't have a constitutional right to be taken seriously, and their batting average for getting the facts right—from Indochina to Central America to the Persian Gulf—is pretty close to zero. They are right only about this: War is a terrible thing. Let us not, by a policy of weakness and vacillation, encourage further slaughter of the innocent and give our new adversaries the victory we gave to the forces of tyranny in Indochina. ♦

Michael Ramirez



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Pete McDonnell

# The Press in Time of War

## BY FRED BARNES

Peter Jennings, the ABC News anchor, ventured outside New York last week to discover the mood of the country. In Dallas, a man told him bluntly: "Nobody likes you." The man added that the press's reporting is unpatriotic and isn't helping the nation recover from the attacks of September 11.

The press is in bad odor around the country. At a time when President Bush, Congress, the postal service, the Centers for Disease Control, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, homeland security chief Tom Ridge, and Attorney General John Ashcroft are wildly popular, a majority of Americans disapprove of the news media.

This is peculiar, almost shocking. The press has been more in sync with the American people since September 11 than at any time in decades. And its coverage, from a professional standpoint, has rarely been better. In the two or three weeks immediately after the terrorist assaults on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, both print and broadcast coverage was dazzling. The stories were fact-filled, fair, balanced, poignant, comprehensive, and politically neutral. There were even murmurs of patriotism, not exactly a staple of the liberal media. Once the American bombing in Afghanistan began on October 7, the coverage grew more critical—but for the most part that wasn't because the war on terrorism was being fought too brutally, but because it wasn't being pursued vigorously enough. In short, what we've seen at times over the past nine weeks is the American press transformed.

Who would have thought a press corps filled with liberals would make Rumsfeld, the hardest of hard-liners, into the rock star of the war against terrorism? Not Rumsfeld, I'll bet. The usually liberal *Parade* magazine ran a puff piece on him. Reporters have credited him with giving candid and often witty briefings. *Saturday Night Live* lampooned his facial contortions, body language, and curt treatment of questions. But it did so in a you-got-to-love-him fashion.

There are, of course, exceptions to a changed press, dinosaurs bent on covering the war as antagonistically as possible. One is the *New York Times*. Its war coverage has been grimly defeatist and its chief Washington correspondent, R.W. Apple Jr., has fixated on supposed similarities between American interventions in Afghanistan and Vietnam. On the day anti-Taliban forces made their first big breakthrough in Mazar-i-Sharif, the *Times* focused on a tiny incident in which Taliban soldiers tricked Northern Alliance troops into thinking they'd surrendered, then opened fire. Another offender is ABC. Its obsession was Taliban claims about civilian deaths from American bombing. ABC accepted them as credible and played them up. Predictably the claims turned out to be false. ABC even frowned on the president's effort to have American kids send a dollar to Afghan children.

There have also been episodes of klutzy and hysterical reporting. Gloria Borger's questioning of Vice President Dick Cheney on *60 Minutes*, for example, drifted into the ridiculous when she asked him to discuss the secret site where he goes when the president is in the White House. "What do they do when they take you away?" she asked. "Do they come in and get you . . . [and] where do you go?" Cheney answered gently that such information "needs to be classified."

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This was a harmless instance. But the anthrax threat isn't, and, in general, the coverage of anthrax has been uninformed, speculative, and overwrought. The thesis of *It Ain't Necessarily So: How Media Make and Unmake the Scientific Picture of Reality*, a recent study by David Murray, Joel Schwartz, and the media critic Robert Lichter, is that the press can't cover scientific and medical issues without going off the deep end. The way the anthrax threat was explained to the American public looks like definitive proof of that thesis.

Still, the big question about journalism is whether September 11 marks a turning point—indeed, whether the press is permanently chastened, changed, different. For a generation now, the type of reporting practiced first in Washington and then nationwide has been adversarial, cynical, and highly negative. Reporters themselves have been so ideological that liberal bias became a dominant trait of journalism, as Bernard Goldberg engagingly points out in the about-to-be-released *Bias: A CBS Insider Exposes How the Media Distorts the News*. Since it was the experience of covering the civil-rights movement, Vietnam, and Watergate that helped create this sort of reporting, might the trauma of September 11 propel the press toward a more positive, dispassionate, and ideologically impartial style, one less confrontational toward American institutions? Robert Lichter thinks so. "There's been a seismic shift in journalism since September 11," he told me. "The idea of the journalist as critical outsider has been blown to smithereens."

I'm not so sure that we've seen the end of the "journalist as critical outsider." But, in the short run, remarkable things have occurred. Famous journalists have been transformed in ways that should thrill conservatives who complain about liberal bias. The most striking changes involve CBS anchor Dan Rather, liberal television journalist Geraldo Rivera, CNN chief Walter Isaacson, and columnist Tom Friedman of the *New York Times*.

Rather's appearance on the *Late Show with David Letterman* a week after the terrorist attacks was quite touching. A mention of the firefighters at the World Trade Center reduced him to tears. He broke up again while reciting a stanza of *America the Beautiful* and declared: "You know, it's just one American, wherever [the president] wants me to line up, just tell me where. And he'll make the call." But what Rather said later, after the bombing started, was more significant. Following two days of bombing, he ended the *CBS Evening News* with a patriotic peroration. "Our thoughts and our love are with our warrior men and women," he said. "We know that some may come back in flag-draped caskets, but we reluctantly and sadly accept that as a reality of a war forced upon us." How often have we heard anything like that on network news? Practically never, and by this time the emotion of September 11 had begun to wear off. Two days later, Rather, his voice cracking with emotion, ended his broadcast: "With America's fighting men and women in peril far from home tonight, we know we must steel ourselves for many long months." Five days later, he zinged Saudi Arabia as ingrates for criticizing the bombing. A few days after that, he pointed out that the American military had been gutted in the 1990s.

**It Ain't Necessarily So**
*How Media Make and Unmake the Scientific Picture of Reality*
by David Murray, Joel Schwartz, and S. Robert Lichter
Rowman & Littlefield, 249 pp., $24.95

**Bias**
*A CBS Insider Exposes How the Media Distorts the News*
by Bernard Goldberg
Regnery, 150 pp., $27.95

Like Dan Rather, Geraldo Rivera is a liberal media icon, a last-ditch defender of Clinton during impeachment. Yet he took a whopping pay cut, quit his nightly show on CNBC, and signed on with Fox News Channel to cover Afghanistan. "I am changed," he explained. "How can you be a dove when someone has committed mass murder in your neighborhood, killed friends of yours?" He zinged the Taliban for being, among other things, anti-American. "I want to see a reinforced United States rifle company take a hill," he said. "I want to see us rout these bastards. I want to see our GIs make them pay back for what they did to us." Remember now, that wasn't Rush Limbaugh talking. It was Geraldo.

And then there's Walter Isaacson. Freshly installed as the head of CNN, Isaacson faced various problems. It wasn't just dealing with CNN's reputation as the "Clinton News Network," though that has caused ratings trouble. The bigger problem was the source of that reputation: the content of CNN's programs. One CNN official admitted the cable network had "underserved" conservatives, which is putting it mildly. But faced with a war to cover, Isaacson took an extraordinary step that Ted Turner, were he still in charge, surely would not have. He sent a memo to correspondents, instructing them to remind viewers of the attacks that prompted America to go to war in the first place. The message between the lines was "Don't sound anti-American." Despite lapses, CNN's coverage has improved. Even Christiane Amanpour dismissed anti-American demonstrations in Pakistan as unrepresentative of popular sentiment in that country.

Tom Friedman is a special case because his take on the war is at odds with his paper's. The bestselling author of *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, he's criticized American foreign policy for years—but especially since Bush took office. And yet, in nearly all his columns since September 11, he has recognized the stakes ("this is World War III") and advocated a decisive military victory ("to not retaliate ferociously . . . is only to invite a worse attack"). He's criticized Arab-Muslim regimes that hypocritically side with the United States while allowing radical Islam to fester. And his solution is democracy—for, without it, "religion and the mosque become the vehicle of angry protest. . . . And when [authoritarian] leaders are seen as being propped up by America, America also becomes the target of Muslim rage."

The roots of Friedman's new outlook are both obvious and intellectually



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respectable: The world changed, and he has changed in response. In a more emotional way, this is also true of Rather and Rivera. The effect of September 11 was traumatic and mind-altering. But there are other reasons, too, for the change in journalism. The nature of the story—a war with many facets, foreign and domestic—requires more fact-based reporting and less commentary. Then, too, for television, ratings matter. This no doubt has played a role in CNN's coverage.

One significant factor gets little notice: the scrutiny the national press now gets from media critics, watchdog groups, press websites, and astute journalistic observers like Andrew Sullivan of the *New Republic* and Brit Hume of Fox News Channel. Many of these are conservative, and they're constantly on alert for liberal or leftist excesses. When they find them, they let the whole world, or at least elite opinion-makers, know. The result is a makeshift kind of accountability that didn't exist until recently. Large media organizations once haughtily ignored conservative criticism. Now they have to take it into account and react.

The case of David Westin, the president of ABC News, is a good example. On October 23, Westin spoke to a class at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism. Asked if the Pentagon were a legitimate target for attack by America's enemies, he said, "I actually don't have an opinion on that . . . as a journalist I feel strongly that's something I should not be taking a position on." The comment drew no criticism from the students, which may tell you something about them.

But four days later, the Westin speech was shown on C-SPAN, where Brent Baker of the Media Research Center caught it at 2 A.M. Baker put excerpts in the daily "CyberAlert" he writes for MRC's website. Rummaging through the Internet, Brit Hume spotted the item and mentioned it on *Special Report* that evening on Fox. Two days later, the *New York Post* picked it up and the next day so did the Drudge Report. That alerted Rush Limbaugh, who devoted an hour or more to it on

Reuters / Peter Morgan

*Dan Rather reporting on anthrax.*

his radio show. With Limbaugh's show still in progress, Baker got a call from ABC. A reply would be e-mailed to him soon for posting on the MRC website. It was a total capitulation. "I was wrong," Westin wrote. "Under any interpretation, the attack on the Pentagon was criminal and entirely without justification."

The impact this may have on ABC's coverage is uncertain. It hasn't affected what's become a hardy perennial at the network: obsessive emphasis on collateral damage caused by American bombing. Despite relatively few civilian deaths in Afghanistan, ABC has concentrated on the subject far more than NBC or CBS. But then it did the same thing during the Gulf War a decade ago.

At the *New York Times*, R.W. Apple, too, is grinding an old ax. Back in 1991, he wrote, "For all of President Bush's passionate insistence to the contrary, the war in the Persian Gulf has more than a few similarities to the war in Vietnam, in the sort of problems that it poses if not in the probable outcome." Trying to make a new situation fit an old story, he was wrong about the Gulf War—and he's wrong again about the war in Afghanistan, for precisely the same reason.

I've given little space to the two books under review, but not because they're unworthy. *It Ain't Necessarily So* is an impressive piece of media criticism, more serious-minded and rigorous than sloppy and alarmist reporting on science deserves, and surprisingly readable. The sins of the press are basic: ignorance, sloth, hype, ideology. Reporters frequently don't understand important scientific distinctions such as that between correlation and causation. They're inclined to report on a study based on a sensationalized press release, not the study itself. They turn ambiguous findings into "possible links" between, say, bug spray and Parkinson's disease. They let a preconceived idea, or template, determine the story. "If the template is that infectious diseases, sexual assaults, and mortgage discrimination each pose severe (and possibly worsening) problems, evidence to the contrary will often be ignored or rejected," the authors write.

*It Ain't Necessarily So* recounts dozens of examples of atrocious science reporting, but one stands out. That was the *New York Times* piece in 1995 on "whether the planned underground dump for the nation's high-level atomic wastes in Nevada might erupt in a nuclear explosion, scattering radioactivity to the winds or into ground water or both." The story got front-page treatment, though it was merely the theory of two scientists and any explosion would be thousands of years in the future. Their theory hadn't been peer-reviewed, but when it was, it was dismissed. The two studies that rejected the theory got no coverage in the *Times*. The more you read about the state of science reporting in *It Ain't Necessarily So*, you're not surprised that the press hyped and mangled the anthrax story.

But you'd never have guessed from *Bias* (written months before September 11) that Dan Rather would emerge as the war on terrorism's leading media supporter. Nonetheless, Goldberg tells an engrossing story about his twenty-eight years at CBS, his clash with Rather over liberal bias, and his take on liberal news coverage in general. He was a top-flight correspondent and Rather favorite until February 1996, when he wrote an op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal* about liberal bias, particularly at CBS. "You can talk freely about many things when you work for the big



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network news operations, but liberal bias is not one of them," Goldberg notes. After the article, his career at CBS was stymied and he left the network in 2000. Goldberg tells plenty of CBS tales out of school (Rather's down-home quips are scripted, he observes, and CBS News boss Andrew Heyward privately agreed about liberal bias). In the end, he's pessimistic about erasing bias. "They continue to slant the news and then deny they're doing it," Goldberg says. "They just don't understand."

Even so, Dan Rather's metamorphosis seems real, if perhaps temporary. The scourge of liberal bias, Brent Baker of the Media Research Center, is persuaded. "He's not the Rather of the past," he says. In fact, Baker has kind words for most of CBS's war coverage and NBC's too. "There's not much to complain about thematically from a conservative point of view," Baker says. "Certainly the tone of coverage has changed. They're eliminating the spin. They're not trying to impute political motives to everything Bush does or says." All that, just since September 11. If it lasts, people may learn to like the press as much as they like, well, Donald Rumsfeld. ♦

# Federalism on the Bench

*Will the revival of federalism survive the war against terrorism?* BY MICHAEL S. GREVE

The war against terrorism, like other wars before it, will enhance respect for the national government and increase its growth. That prediction, and the corollary prediction of federalism's demise, unites everyone from Democratic activists to libertarians. And many observers argue that the Supreme Court—the only political institution that has taken federalism seriously over the past decade, as Robert F. Nagel observes in *The Implosion of American Federalism*—will not jettison its support for state and local governments.

**The Implosion of American Federalism**
by Robert F. Nagel
Oxford University Press, 209 pp., $35

But the truth is that September 11 has done little to undermine the Supreme Court's federalism agenda—the centerpiece of the Rehnquist Court's jurisprudence. It may even have strengthened the plausibility of its arguments. The question, now as before, is whether that's enough to ensure federalism's future.

Nagel locates federalism's "implosion" not in external events, such as wars, but in the dynamics of American democracy. "Federalism," in Nagel's robust sense, means an open, democratic, competitive politics that institutionalizes challenges to national authority. Such a federalism requires a distrust of central authority and a taste for self-government—and, along with these ornery sentiments, a certain moderation of egalitarian aspirations and a tolerance for openness and imperfection. To some extent, federalism also fosters these sentiments by teaching citizens that "obviously" beneficial laws, from waste-disposal requirements to child-care benefits, have costs as well as benefits (including the risk that industries and jobs will move to other jurisdictions).

Federalism and self-government, though, exist in tension with democratic sentiments for perfection, sameness, and equality, all of which require intervention by central government. Punting democratic choices to the national government obscures the trade-offs, since the costs are spread over a much larger number of losers who can no longer escape to other jurisdictions. Once this temptation has overwhelmed the adult sense of self-government and moderation, it will prevail more easily in the next case, and even more easily thereafter. That, says Nagel, is our predicament. He hopes that our political community has not yet become wholly nationalized. But he suspects that "we may already be past the point of no return, that the great moral, political, and cultural mass at the center is overwhelming weak institutions and practices at the periphery and is likely to become more overwhelming."

*The Implosion of American Federalism* rightly notes that the Supreme Court's federalism decisions over the past decade provide the only hope for federalism. In a subtle and compelling analysis of the leading cases, which makes up the bulk of his splendid book, Nagel shows, first, that the Supreme Court has not really reasserted federalism but rather "domesticated" it.

Nagel's fitting phrase means that the Court will protect a sphere of state autonomy but will cease to do so when state-level democracy threatens policy commitments that the Court perceives as central to national unity and cohesion. *Romer* v. *Evans*, invalidating Colorado's popular referendum banning local gay-rights ordinances, is an example; the Court's abortion-rights decisions are another. As Nagel shows, the majority opinions in those cases betray a near-hysterical fear of national disintegration.

Second, Nagel argues that "the fact that so many of the hopes and fears [over federalism] should be riveted on this supremely unlikely institution is itself a discouraging sign of implosion." An appeal to the Supreme Court is by definition an appeal to national authority. Federalism plaintiffs may mobilize arguments from democratic, local control, but they are appealing to the least democratic and most centralized of our institutions.

This is true, of course. And yet, the modern Supreme Court has also proven

*Michael S. Greve, the John G. Searle scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, is the author of* Real Federalism: Why It Matters, How It Could Happen.



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itself a remarkably reliable institutional critic of national power. In a little over a decade, the justices have invalidated more federal statutes on federalism grounds than their predecessors did over the course of two centuries. Nagel rightly laments that this solicitude for a more open, democratic politics does not extend to the Supreme Court's own impositions on state and local governments, especially in matters of sex, life, and death; in that sense, the Court's decisions reek of judicial supremacy rather than federalism. The decisions, though, also fit a more encouraging pattern: a campaign against the nationalist impositions of the nanny state.

Lacking the collectivist traditions of European countries, America in the 1960s and 1970s instead used the civil-rights revolution as a template to create an enormous array of entitlements for an ever-growing number of constituencies: women, children, the poor, the handicapped, labor, environmentalists. The driving engine of this ersatz socialism, and a source of federalism's erosion, is the judicial enforcement of federal entitlements against state and local governments. Under the leadership of the late Justice William Brennan, the Supreme Court eagerly enlisted in that cause, broadly interpreting federal statutory rights where they existed and making them up where they did not.

This body of law is the principal target of the Rehnquist Court's federalism. Through narrow statutory constructions, the expansion of state immunity against federal lawsuits and commandeering, and a re-limitation of the federal government's constitutionally enumerated powers, the Court has made it much more difficult for Congress to impose its interest-group schemes on state and local governments. The Rehnquist Court is only two or three decisions away from a wholesale reversal of the Brennan legacy.

The effects of September 11 will be felt, in subtle ways, in some future federalism cases. For example, the idea that federalism in an era of globalization warrants a larger foreign policy role for the states—pushed by some state governments and supported by a growing number of liberal and conservative academics—has suffered a serious setback. But the Supreme Court had largely rejected the pro-state position even before September 11 (in a case prohibiting Massachusetts's trade sanctions against Burma), and the question is in any event not central to the Court's broader federalism conception.

That conception will at its heart remain untouched by September 11, because the Supreme Court—in contrast to liberal and libertarian prognosticators of governmental growth—does not view "national power" as an indivisible blob. The Court deals with particular, discrete national powers and grants of authority, and the welfare-state-enhancing powers that it has limited are not the powers that the national government needs to fight a war. The congressional gratification of interest-group demands through federal causes of action is not an anti-terror strategy.

*September 11 has not damaged federalism. The problem is that it may not have done enough to advance it.*

Past cases in fact suggest that the exercise of the national powers that the Court has restricted pulls Congress into matters that are neither national nor important, such as the creation of gun-free school zones or a federal remedy, purportedly enacted as a regulation of "interstate commerce," for gender-based acts of violence.

The Supreme Court may well extend these precedents. For example, in one of several cases concerning the Endangered Species Act now winding its way through lower courts, the justices may deny federal regulators the authority to protect beetles residing exclusively in three caves in Travis County, Texas. September 11 has actually made a federalist re-limitation of national power *more* compelling, not less so: Now that the cave-dwelling terrorists of Afghanistan have appeared on the national stage, the cave-crawlers of Travis County look more distinctly local—and more obviously distracting.

The obstacles to a more robust federalism after September 11 are the ones that Nagel identified before the event. The Supreme Court seems to have an obsessive fear of national disunity, especially concerning sexual mores, and it has shown an inability to build institutional, organized support for federalism. National unity seems, after September 11, not to require judicial edict. The signs of unity are the millions of American flags, which citizens would yet wave even if the Supreme Court were to allow them to govern themselves, in the various states, on abortion and gay rights.

More serious is federalism's lack of political resonance. Our national institutions are split between a ruthlessly nationalist Democratic party and a Republican party that sacrifices its strategic interest in a more open, federalist politics to poll-tested federal "reforms," from crime to education; between interest groups whose appetites can be satiated only in Washington and state governments whose idea of "federalism" is more federal funding with fewer strings. Without a rupture in these alignments, the Supreme Court's federalism, and ours, will remain feeble and domesticated.

The war against terror should remind us of the need to focus the national government on its constitutional obligations and to forsake local distractions, trivial pursuits, and interest-group concerns. So far, however, the sparring over such "anti-terror" measures as a union racket in "airport security" drag—together with a "stimulus" bill composed of special-interest handouts and an insurance bill with all the marks of another savings & loan debacle in the making—suggest a fundamental lack of seriousness and purpose. September 11 has not damaged federalism. The problem is that it may not have done enough to advance it. ♦



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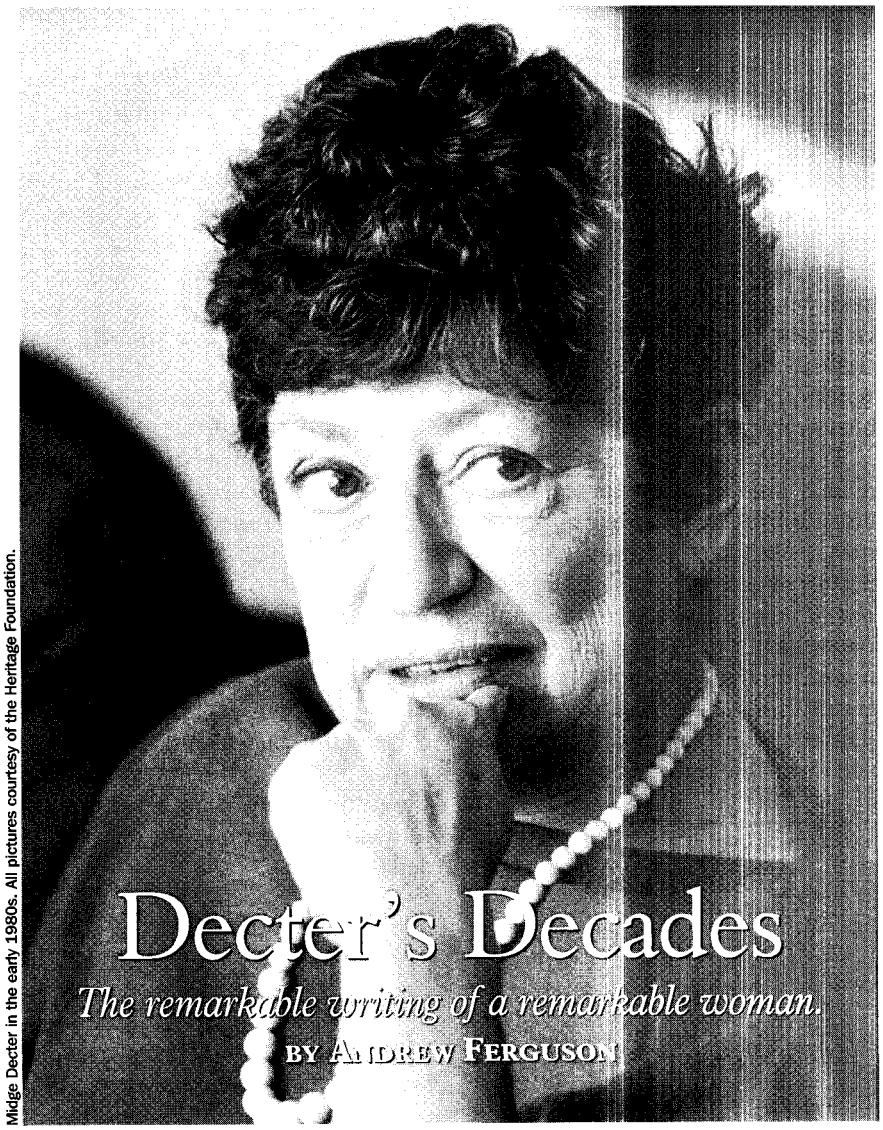

Midge Decter in the early 1980s. All pictures courtesy of the Heritage Foundation.

# Decter's Decades

## *The remarkable writing of a remarkable woman.*

BY ANDREW FERGUSON

In her recent not-quite-a-memoir, *An Old Wife's Tale: My Seven Decades in Love and War*, the great social critic Midge Decter gives an episodic account of her life as a New York intellectual and devotes more space, as it turns out, to discussing her children than her books. What kind of social critic, great or not, finds her children more remarkable than her books?

To declare my own interest: I know three of Midge Decter's four children, and find them remarkable too. I hope readers flock to *An Old Wife's Tale* and enjoy it as most reviewers did—as J. Bottum did, for example, in this very magazine—relishing her irony, her murderous wit and sharp eye, and her unerring gift for the tricky art of verbal caricature.

But I hoped as well that the book might serve as an advertisement, inducing readers to search out and rediscover her earlier books. There were three of these, and together they form an essential critique of what we have come to call "the sixties," written in the white heat of the Great Disruption itself and, for that reason and others, still worthy of close attention. Quite apart from the merits of their argument, which is still sound, they display a way of thinking, a way of being intellectually formidable, you rarely come across among people who take on the job of "intellectual."

Of her books *An Old Wife's Tale* is probably the best, but when I was done reading it, a couple of weeks ago, I went back to her first, *The Liberated Woman and Other Americans*, published in 1971. It's not a well-known book. She ignores it altogether in her memoir, and several admirers I mentioned it to didn't even know of its existence. After *The Liberated Woman* came *The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation* (1972) and then *Liberal Parents, Radical Children* (1976). Because they offered, in cold black and white, the spectacle of a well-known liberal intellectual turning into a conservative critic of liberalism, both books made quite a splash, earning her noisy appearances on the talk shows and all kinds of publicity as a controversialist, and I suppose the first book was simply swamped in their wake and forgotten. It shouldn't have been.

*The Liberated Woman* is a collection of occasional essays culled from magazines like *Harper's* and the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Commentary*, where they appeared over a span of ten years or so. In those days she still called herself a liberal, specifically a Cold War liberal whose passion was anti-communism, but it's clear from essay to essay that the seeds of her apostasy were already breaking open. You can spot it in the most unlikely places; for among other things this collection shows that Midge Decter had it in her to be a great movie critic. Even in so frivolous a field as movies she resisted the centrifugal pull of conventional wisdom that drew in her fellow intellectuals, whose professed disdain for conventional wisdom was rivaled only by their dread of departing from it.

She is pitiless, for example, in her treatment of the earnest and conspicuously virtuous Stanley Kramer, who had meant to show the world the horrors of nuclear war when he made his high-minded film *On the Beach* (1959). In fact, she notes (as no one else did at the time), the movie is perversely rosy—a pretty picture from which the real horrors raised by the prospect of atomic Armageddon are squeamishly excluded. "Kramer has fallen victim to the most insidious seduction of our time—the seduction of the apocalypse," she writes. "What he has given us is a fantasy in which all problems are solved by a single explosion."

Three years later, she goes further, daring to criticize the uncriticizable *Dr. Strangelove*, a movie prized then and now by the verbal class for what was taken to be its bravery and anarchism. Midge Decter instead saw a funny movie limited by a timid devotion to

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"conventional political piety." Look closer, she said: Beyond its excellent jokes and masterly technique, the movie is "strangely polite in its choice of enemies"—the right-wing general, the ex-Nazi nuclear scientist, the overzealous nuclear strategist, and so on. "No liberals are ridiculed in this 'anarchic' movie," she writes.

> To have poked as much fun at the inadequacy of pacifist thought in the face of the nuclear danger as it does at the absurdity of strategic thought would have involved the movie in a complexity—and an anarchism of spirit—quite beyond its basic intentions. And Kubrick in that case would probably not have been extolled for his courage by everyone from Robert Brustein in the *New York Review of Books* to the editorialists of *Life*. Everyone, after all, is against psychotic generals and Nazis.

We're grown used nowadays to seeing right-wing critiques of the conventionally left-wing politics of Hollywood movies, so it's difficult to convey how extraordinary this criticism must have seemed in 1964, certainly in a magazine like *Commentary*, then a flagship for highbrow Democrats and liberals generally (and edited, as it happened, by Midge Decter's husband Norman Podhoretz). But notice that her beef with Kubrick isn't ideological; it's artistic, or better, a matter of artistic character: A gifted moviemaker, he chose to sacrifice complexity and a deeper humor for an easy laugh and public acclaim. He passed up a chance to convey genuine anarchy (as the Marx Brothers dangerously did, she points out, in *Duck Soup*) so his movie would be safer and easier to take—and maybe also so it would be praised by an arbiter of elevated taste like Robert Brustein, dean of Yale Drama School, in a brainy fashion magazine like the *New York Review of Books*.

Getting praised in the *New York Review* is, at some time or another, the craving of every person who lives in New York and writes for a living, but one of the delights in reading her first book is watching Midge Decter get over it. Her essays show no evidence of status-seeking, bum-bussing, or any of the other fretful tics that wiggle through the work of people who so ambitiously call themselves "public intellectuals" (emphasis on the *public*). As the era progresses and she watches the new counterculture consume a genuine culture of taste and merit, consume it and render it trivial and silly, her stuff takes on a tone of exasperation that would later, in her most famous book, *Liberal Parents, Radical Children*, boil down into anger. But here it has an edge of wonderment to it: What *is* all this crap? Herself a liberal, she's beginning to think that maybe the problem is with liberalism itself, and with liberals. In a review of a book of speeches released not long after his death, she is admiring of Adlai Stevenson—some early crushes you never get over—but scornful of his followers: "What they sought from him first and foremost was a public token of their superiority to their less educated countrymen."

By the dawn of the 1970s, much of liberalism had degenerated into an affectation, a pose, a matter not of conviction but of style. Nowhere was this more obvious than in the idealization of the Kennedys. In her essay "Kennedyism," which takes up a good chunk of *The Liberated Woman*, she used the fantasies that swirled around Jack and Bobby and the clan as an occasion to examine the more general relation of intellectuals to politicians, an exercise in wish-fulfillment by which the intellectuals inevitably try to transform politicians into heroic images of themselves. (This is one problem, incidentally, that isn't restricted to liberals; conservative intellectuals do the same thing to Ronald Reagan. Again, Midge Decter comes closer to the truth. In her new memoir she writes that Reagan "was indeed, as by all accounts he was touted to be, perpetually amiable and pleasant. Which means that he must at the core have been a very cold man, for after all only someone whose heart is very distant from the people and day-to-day proceedings all around him can remain perpetually pleasant.")

The main reason intellectuals are prone to this weakness has to do with a much more comprehensive failing—their detachment from the stuff of daily life. In the great divide between people who brag that they "live for ideas" and people who are preoccupied with just living, Midge Decter, whose own intellectual bona fides are gold-plated, takes the side of ordinary people. "Ordinary," in fact, is one of her favorite terms of approval, used without a trace of condescension. She doesn't mean the word, as intellectuals often do, as a synonym for "simple" or "uncomplicated": Ordinary life is complicated enough to keep everybody busy. "Ordinary" to her suggests life uncorrupted by abstraction—for abstraction, strangely enough, can be the intellectual's way of making life seem less complicated than it is. So she's a populist intellectual, and the tension inherent in the role gives *The Liberated Woman* its special charm. She too may "live for ideas," but she insists that the ideas be firmly rooted in real life.

*William Bennett on a panel with Midge Decter in 1992.*



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Thus she concedes to David Riesman the intellectual force of his work but senses the larger weakness revealed in his language—his use, for example, of "pretentious and trashy phrases like 'anticipatory socialization' when he means 'upbringing.'" She catches the salutary influence of Max Weber in Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd* but cautions: "There is this difference between Weber and Riesman: to Weber, religion and capitalism were real, as were the human beings caught in their toils. To Riesman, on the other hand, the things of which he speaks are not real but only the limits his speculation gives to them." Revealingly, she praises the journalist Murray Kempton "for that quality of spirit that kept him from the theoretical refinement and ideological coarseness" to which intellectuals were prone. Kempton knew, she says, that "the true sociology of the American worker [is found] in the fact that no one sees fit to clean the filth off a factory floor, rather than in terms like 'other-directed consumer' or 'upward social mobility.'"

As a liberal intellectual entering middle age, she knew what she was up to, though she might not have known where it would take her in the end (and might have been horrified to learn). She recognized that human beings have always succumbed to abstraction as a way of keeping harsh reality at bay—"our perpetual process of distancing ourselves, abstracting ourselves, from the conditions of life." What she found new in the 1960s, however, was that the people who were being paid to think about the country and to describe Americans to themselves—the intellectuals and journalists who were her peers and pals—were increasingly describing sheer fantasies. The general culture itself, in fact, encouraged this "process of distancing ourselves from the conditions of life" by promoting ideas that were clearly at odds with common sense: the thoughtless pacifism of the antiwar movement, for example, or, preeminently, the war on the natural order of things that went under the journalistic tag "women's liberation."

She has never made this same mistake herself, of giving abstraction the upper hand over experience. We now know, from *An Old Wife's Tale*, why this might have been easier for her than for her fellow intellectuals. Not long after the war she moved with her first husband and two toddlers to a new housing development in the far suburbs of New York. While other future *Commentary* essayists and *Harper's* editors—she was to become both—were writing their master's theses on Schopenhauer, she worked as a housewife, passing the afternoons with other homemakers in the apartment quadrangle as their toddlers tumbled about on the lawn. Every intellectual should have such a graduate school. Afterward, having returned to Manhattan and taken a job as a secretary in *Commentary*'s offices, she read W.H. Whyte's hugely influential *The Organization Man*, an indictment of the dehumanizing effects of suburban and corporate postwar America. The book of course became a lens through which many American journalists and intellectuals continued to view the country for another two decades. Yet despite her firsthand experience with the suburban nightmare, she writes, "I could not recognize a single friend or neighbor, then or even later, in Whyte's book."

*Midge Decter in 1982*

The chasm between the real world and the world cobbled together by intellectuals became her enduring theme. In her introduction to *The Liberated Woman*, she writes: "This, then, has turned out to be my main preoccupation as a writer: to account for the distance between what is, or must be, the experience of something, and the way that experience has come to be talked about, in public life no less than private." She rebutted bad ideas not by citing some competing schematic but by drawing attention to the way life is actually lived, and has been lived, in all its messiness and imperfection. In her most powerful writing she took as her subjects the common material of everyday life: sex, marriage, the rearing of children.

And so as her peers and pals, beguiled by theory, turned one way, she inevitably turned the other. In her memoir she discusses her ideological journey from left to right, but she didn't really have too far to go, as a reading of *The Liberated Woman* makes plain. In a simultaneously wrenching and funny essay published in *Harper's* in 1967, she discusses her trepidation as her teenage daughters face the sexual revolution, and she comes out, as mothers used to do where their daughters were concerned, squarely on the side of tradition: "Lust as an independent value divorces itself from institutions, personal relations, and travels with utter unconcern from creature contact to creature contact. This is, as a matter of fact, exactly how the Puritans understood the matter, and they were right. We understand it, too, in the pits of our stomachs if not in our minds, and we scurry about to improvise our excuses."

Her impatience with all this excuse-making is her great contribution to American intellectual life, and the impatience remained acute whether she called herself a liberal or a conservative. We shouldn't be surprised that in her memoir such a writer devotes more space to her children than to her books. Every human being is more remarkable than every book. Or so, I suspect, it would seem to Midge Decter, who is after all a singular figure: the social critic who despises theory, the egghead who trades only in common sense—the intellectual as Mom. ♦



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# Seth Benardete, 1930-2001

BY HARVEY MANSFIELD

Seth Benardete was a scholar, a philosopher, and a most extraordinary man. His post in life was to be a classics professor at New York University, but he was not an especially prominent professor. Nor was he much known in the world of public intellectuals, a realm he never tried to enter. He wrote books on Greek poetry and philosophy, and before he died on November 14, 2001, at the age of seventy-one, he was the most learned man alive—and, I venture to assert, the deepest thinker as well.

To me, he was both friend and hero. The hero got in the way of our friendship because he was in every way my superior, and the best I could offer him was my unspoken admiration.

I first met him in 1957 when he arrived at the Society of Fellows at Harvard, a group of very bright or highly praised young persons who are given the run of the university for three years. He had received his B.A. in classics from the University of Chicago in 1949 and his Ph.D. from the Committee on Social Thought in 1955, with a dissertation on "Achilles and Hector: The Homeric Hero." I was introduced to Benardete by his fellow student at Chicago and our common friend Allan Bloom. All three of us were in the company of those who saw something quite remarkable in the teaching of Leo Strauss.

Bloom in his brilliance went on to become a bestselling author and a figure of reknown. Benardete did not. Because of his obvious gifts he received high honors when he was young, but then he settled in as a professor at NYU in 1964. When in 1984 his books began to appear in a steady stream, he was largely ignored. Nonetheless, he was held in awe by some Straussians, and he had a select following among students from the courses on Plato that he taught over the years at the New School for Social Research—as well as devotees elsewhere who sensed his greatness.

Not surprisingly, the classics profession never gave him recognition or

University of Chicago Press

honor. Classicists are only somewhat more insular and thick-headed than most professors, and their neglect did not bother Benardete. He left the task of punishing lesser scholars to others. His books have no anger in them. They are there for people who want to fly to strange places without buying a ticket and without being frisked by security guards.

Actually, in Benardete's view it's very important that flights to strange places are protected by security guards. Benardete was extremely learned in the details of philology, more so indeed than those who know nothing else and are proud of it. But his specialty was the *whole* of things—the whole that is depicted to us by poetry and explained to us by philosophy. The depiction by poets tells us the extra-large-sized beliefs we need to hold in order to live as we do. Philosophers call these beliefs into question and, to the extent possible, try to replace them with rational explanations.

This might sound like "the old quarrel between philosophy and poetry" featured in Plato's *Republic*. But without denying the existence of such a quarrel, Benardete found philosophy in poetry and poetry in philosophy.

That was the theme of his books on Homer, Plato, and Sophocles. Poetry with its image-making aims at, and depends on, the nature of things that is the object of philosophy. And philosophy with its logic cannot simply reject the conceits and the plotting of the poet. It must "learn from our mistakes"—not so much to avoid them as to see why we make them. This relearning is what Benardete called, following Plato, the "second sailing": It is at the heart of all serious thinking.

My summary does not convey the adventurous sparkle of Benardete's prose as he alternately plunges into the deep and returns to the surface. His books have been published by the University of Chicago Press, a faithful friend to him and his readers. Those who have never read Seth Benardete might begin with a volume of his essays, *The Argument of the Action*, published last year. Soon to come is a book of reminiscence and self-summary called *Experiences in Reflection: Conversations with Seth Benardete*.

He was a family man—husband of Jane, father of Ethan and Alexandra Emma—and a scholar who worked seven days a week. When he died, he left the world, as the best human beings always do, richer for his having lived and poorer for his being gone. ♦

*Harvey Mansfield is professor of government at Harvard University.*



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**Taliban abandons plans to surrender Kandahar after Mullah Omar has "prophetic dream" telling him to retain control of the city.**

***—News item, Nov. 20, 2001***

# Parody

**CONFIDENTIAL PATIENT RECORD**

**Sigmund Ahmed Mohamedstein, M.D.**
**Pashtun Center for Conflict Resolution**
**Kandahar, Afghanistan**

**File Number:** 3334
**Patient:** Mullah Omar

**October 22:** Patient rushed into my office, near hysterical fit. Says "Whole world is out to get me." Speaks of CIA conspiracy to track him down, satellites watching him. Obvious paranoid tendencies. Deeply disturbed. I prescribe 35-year course of Freudian analysis with no letup for Ramadan. Rushes out. Strange coincidence: Few minutes after he leaves, garage across the street blows up.

**October 23:** First session. Patient admits he never got to know his mother. "She was always veiled with me," he confesses. Claims his father too was distant: "He loved my 57 other brothers and sisters more." I ask patient to keep a dream diary. After departure, gas station down the street explodes.

**October 24:** Nearly a breakthrough. Told me he dreamed of being in public wearing his pajamas. Then realized: "Hey, we're in Afghanistan. We're all in pajamas!" Strange planes pass overhead, but no explosions.

**October 25:** Patient dreams of train about to enter tunnel, but as train is about to go in, dream changes to repeated visions of smokestacks collapsing. Confess to patient I am unable to interpret these images. Patient expresses frustration that infidels occupy holy ground and sap Muslim manhood. Breaks down. Says he would be cured if I was "half the intellectual Susan Sontag is." Shortly thereafter, local Starbucks incinerated.

**October 26:** Patient admits he banned music across country after failing to get Macarena song out of his head. Dreams that Barbra Streisand is living in his linen closet while wearing a rabbit suit. Confesses he is in love with Streisand and that whole anti-Semitism act is his way of playing hard to get. Strange neighborhood activity continues. White men wearing "Don't worry, we're not Special Forces" name tags kidnap Omar's driver and bodyguard.

**October 27:** Dramatic session. Patient confesses he has receding chinline, and beard is attempt to compensate. Says that the worst part about being an Islamic extremist is that he requires a bright wardrobe palate to bring out his eyes. Weeps while recalling how babysitter once burned his favorite kite, "Rosebud." Insists he doesn't shower because he believes in aromatherapy and he's "self-medicating." Asks to borrow my *Architectural Digest*, as he is thinking of redecorating his cave. Two hours after departure, B-52 reduces clinic to rubble.



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# The Press and the War

**Robert Zelnick is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and acting director of the Boston University Department of Journalism.**

How tempting it is to say that David Westin, the president of ABC News, suffered a bout of foot-in-mouth disease when he told a Columbia Journalism School audience that "I actually have no opinion on that," in response to whether he considered the Pentagon a legitimate military target on September 11.

What about Steven Jukes, the Reuters editor, who offered, "We all know that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter," as the excuse for the news agency's decision against describing the hijackers as "terrorists."

Or NPR's foreign editor, Loren Jenkins, who explained why he would report a secret U.S. commando staging area in Northern Pakistan if he found one: "I don't represent the government. I represent history, information, what happened."

Alas, the statements belie an underlying moral confusion that is beyond arrogance. **If the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon are not acts of evil criminality, then is anything criminal in Mr. Westin's world?** Rwanda? Katyn forest? the Holocaust?

If killing innocent civilians for political purposes is not terrorism, then Reuters has summarily rejected the conventional usage of a familiar term. Would it similarly decline to call the premeditated killing of a single individual "murder"?

Mr. Jenkins, whose judgment could send American military personnel to their deaths, offers a supposedly noble excuse: "We journalists are above national allegiances. We are the historians for all mankind, the future's agents." But if you are also the eyes and ears of the enemy, don't demand access to military operations under the banner of the First Amendment. People no less idealistic than yourself died in the service of that amendment. It is not now yours to defile.

The press does have its role to play in a democracy, even during a time of war. That role is different from those of political or military institutions. The press cannot cease to ask questions and must view bland accounts of progress with skepticism. It cannot become a willing agent of disinformation in what the military euphemistically calls "the information war." It cannot shy from reporting failed operations or even successful ones that trigger excesses among allied troops. It cannot ignore civilian casualties or unthinkingly accept military charges that many of those casualties result from the enemy using civilians as shields.

In today's war the press was right to accept Taliban invitations to view what that government chose to make available, just as a decade ago, in the midst of Operation Desert Storm, Western reporters flocked to Baghdad to learn what they could. And yes, the press should report the words of adversaries, even Osama bin Laden, if those words are newsworthy and present no clear and present danger of terrorist violence.

**The quest is for truth. In time of war that quest is difficult and dangerous.** Coolness, analytic detachment, and an objective eye are all qualities to be admired in today's journalists as they have been in the past. But objectivity and neutrality are not synonyms. Nor does objectivity require the debasement of language. And no standard of credible journalism justifies putting the lives of Americans at risk.

*— Robert Zelnick*

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

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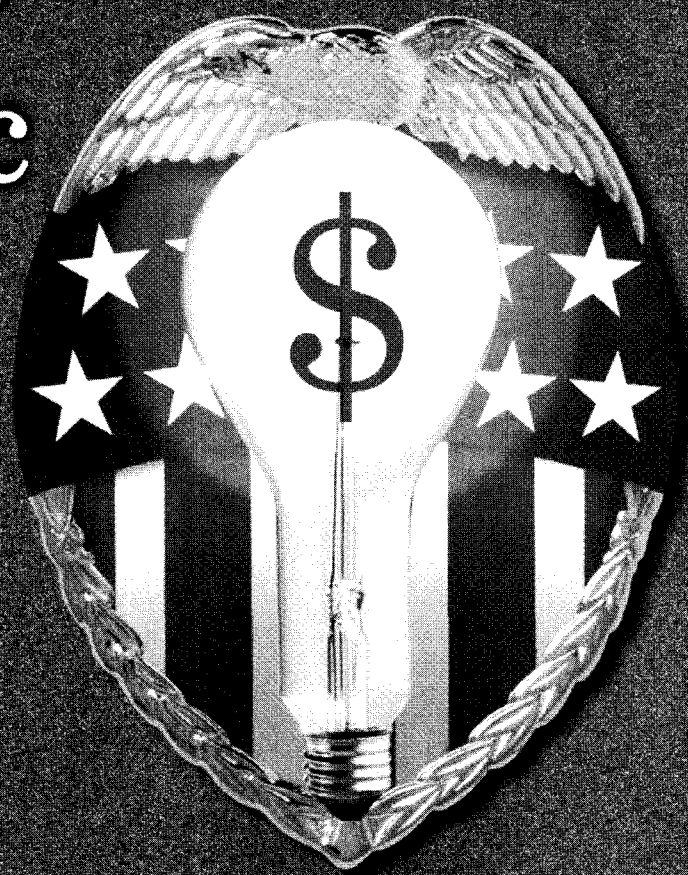
**In the Public Interest**

# Patriotic Energy

## *An "All-American Energy Plan" for Economic Stimulus*



**President Bush and Congressional Republicans are rushing to enact their energy plan before Americans learn how utterly bankrupt and corrupt it is.**

For them, "national energy policy" means more subsidies and freedom from competition for top political patrons – the fossil fuel and nuclear industries, and companies that build and operate inefficient centralized power plants.

Bush & Company, gagged by campaign contributions, cannot acknowledge the real path toward economic stimulus, energy independence and enhanced national security – **an immediate, aggressive investment in energy efficiency and decentralized, home-grown, renewable power.**

**An "All-American Energy Plan" would:**

- **Help farmers harvest wind power.** In Iowa, farmers earn $2,000 annually for each wind turbine planted among their crops. Expand this effort nationwide.
- **Offer incentives to businesses that adopt efficient technology** – new lighting, heating and cooling equipment, advanced windows and insulation.
- **Rapidly expand the use of 'biofuels'** – liquid fuel made from agricultural products and municipal waste.
- **Expedite the deployment of hydrogen fuel cells.** These are clean and highly efficient. They encourage decentralized power production that is less vulnerable to interruption or attack.
- **Offer rebates for the purchase of efficient new cars and appliances and bounties for scrapping old, inefficient ones.**

Such programs would create millions of jobs; save consumers and businesses money that they could spend elsewhere; reduce pollution and its public health and environmental costs; and enhance our security – pipelines, refineries and nuclear plants are a terrorist's dream.

**"Energy efficiency is the stimulus that keeps on stimulating,"** says energy expert Joseph Romm. "Gains in efficiency are permanent. In each subsequent year, corporate America would have billions of dollars in energy savings it could reinvest... and the ongoing savings wouldn't cost the federal government any more money."

**The GOP's energy plan, like its 'economic stimulus' package, puts corporate special interests ahead of the national interest. It's not just bad economics – it's foolish and unpatriotic.**

***TomPaine.com – Patriotic Energy***

*Featuring ideas for an "All-American Energy Plan" from the Rocky Mountain Institute, Joseph Romm, and David Morris.*

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